

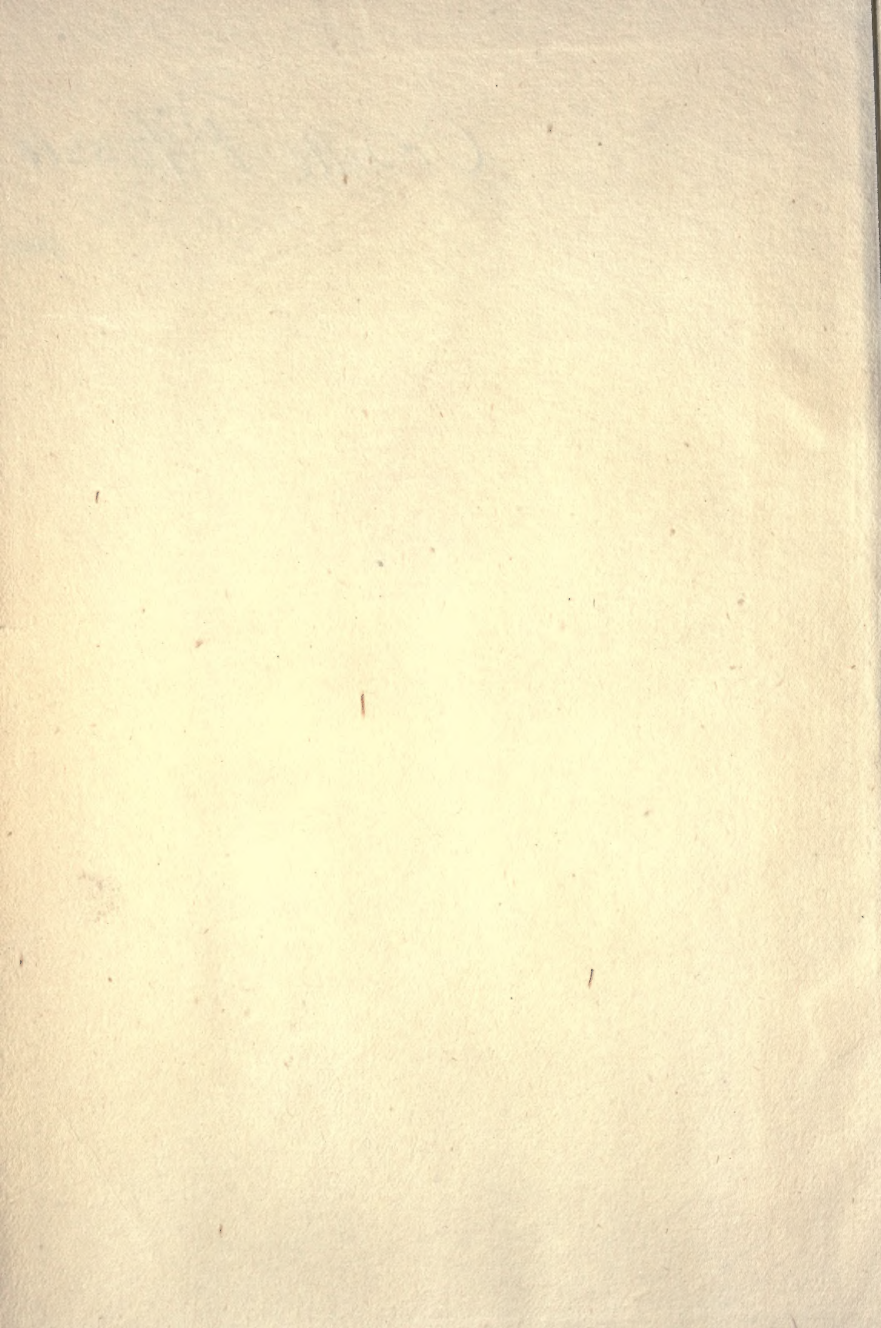


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A NEGLECTED SACRAMENT



A NEGLECTED SACRAMENT

AND OTHER
STUDIES AND ADDRESSES

By
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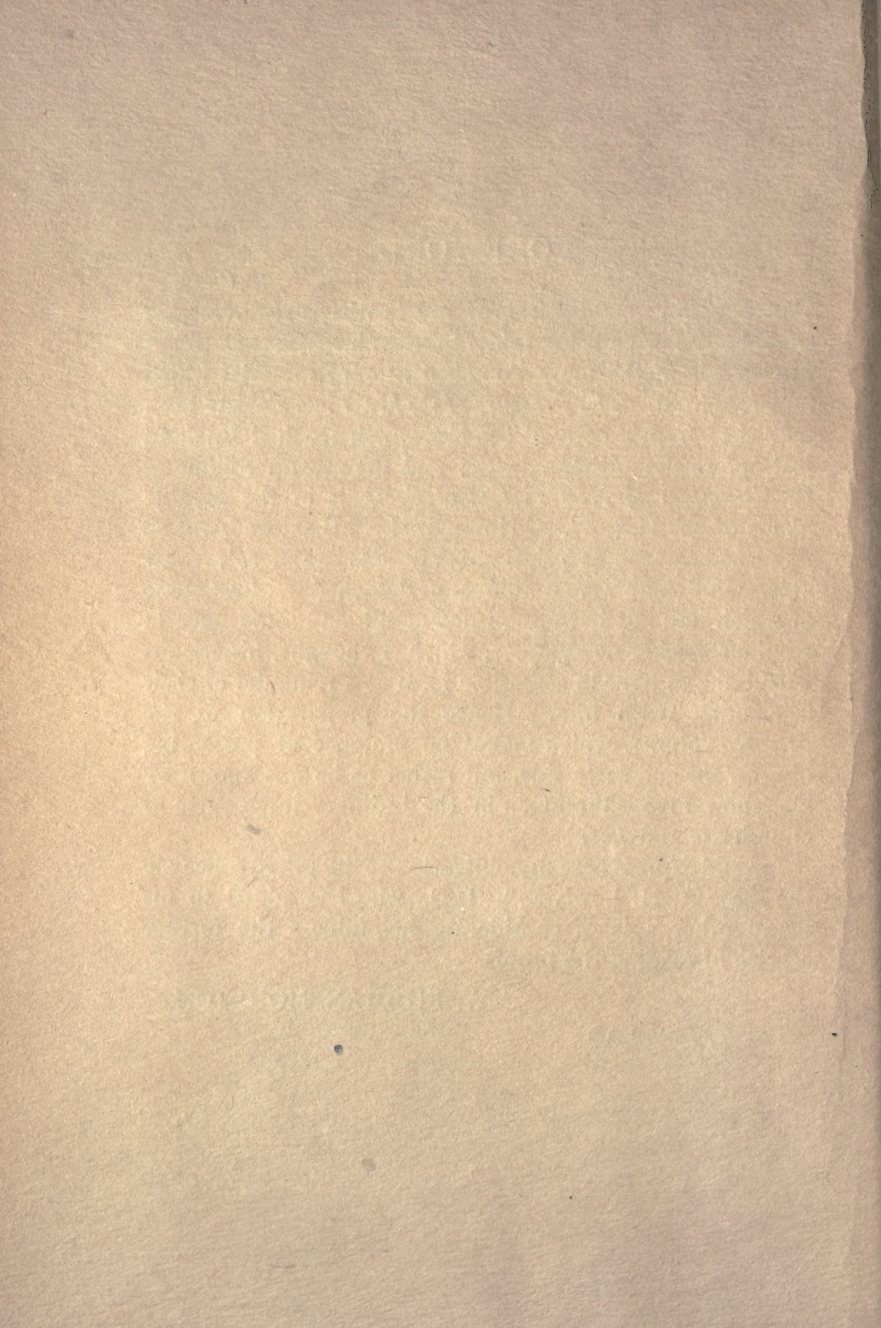
FOREWORD

THE appalling suddenness of my brother's removal precluded any means being taken to learn his wishes as to the further use of the more detached literary material which he left behind. *The Treasure of the Magi* has already been published from a copy of the MS. which reached England just before the author's death; and the second volume of the *Grammar of New Testament Greek* is in the capable hands of the Rev. W. F. Howard, M.A., B.D., and will be published as soon as printing conditions are more favourable. But there were a number of detached writings, some of which had not been published at all, and some only in religious weekly newspapers, which, I thought, his friends would like to have in accessible form as a reminder of their intercourse with him. Hence the preparation of the present volume, which makes no pretence of presenting him on the scholarly side, but rather as he was known by his fellow Free Churchmen in the ordinary intercourse of church life and work.

I would express here my obligation to my gifted colleague the Rev. A. H. Lowe, B.A., B.D., who has added to his many other acts of considerate helpfulness the further service of reading the proofs.

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON.

DERBY, Dec., 1918.



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STUDIES

I

METHODISM IN THE CATHOLIC UNITY¹

THE old isolation of the Churches is rapidly breaking down, and a new ideal is coming into sight. Whither it will ultimately lead us, it is premature to guess. Enough at present to record with great thankfulness that in England—of which alone I speak—there has been a very marked growth of intercommunion within the experience of men who began adult life some thirty years ago. We were mostly within our own ring fences then, and knowledge of our neighbours was not very much encouraged. It was decidedly easier to form healthily emphatic opinions of them without such knowledge, which might even prove embarrassing. Now, although the ring fences are still there, a great many people within them are venturing to look over and pass the time of day with their neighbours. Unsuspected virtues are in process of recognition among people of different camps from our own. Naturally, such latitudinarianism is not universally approved, and there are still those who walk sternly in the old paths. I heard of one such devotee lately, who absolutely refused to address a gathering in which there would be a large number of young men bearing the wrong ecclesiastical label. He was asked how he would get on with such people in heaven; to which he replied with firmness that he would as soon expect to see condemned criminals there. I mention this

¹ *Constructive Quarterly*, 1913. New York.

robust survival just because he is *not* typical, even if we do meet with a good many who hold with him in principle, but with illogical loopholes whereby the invincible ignorance of those who differ from them is piously hoped to afford a possibility of salvation. Generally, however, I find a very striking tendency towards mixing on friendly and even brotherly terms, without sacrifice of conviction on either side. One conspicuous consequence is that men who used to dream of union among the Churches, and mean by it the absorption of others within their own community, are now beginning to see that such union will not come to pass. And without perhaps consciously framing the phrase, they are coming towards a working policy which some of us think to be far better. The omens point unmistakably towards Federation among the Churches, the accomplishment of which may well bring union in its train some day—to a certain extent. To which point we will return.

This seemingly irrelevant preface is intended to indicate my purpose in attempting to sketch what I conceive to be the present position of my own Church in the religious world of England, and the contribution it can offer to the common store. I shall limit my survey to Wesleyan Methodism. Surprise may be felt among outsiders that I should not attempt to widen my subject, and speak for Methodism as a whole. The reason is worth explaining, for it is characteristic of a situation that must be taken in by all who would understand the conditions of religious life in this country. We are inheriting a legacy from what may be called a fissiparous period of Church development. The younger members of the Methodist family in England are the products of an age in which to make a new Church was as easy as for a gardener to make two worms out of one, by

putting his spade through it. A fair proportion of the real or imaginary denominations which for some years used to adorn a certain page of *Whitaker's Almanack* presumably dated from this era. I should hardly except the Church of England from the operation of what seems to have been a general law. For although the outward unity of that Church was maintained throughout the period referred to, its internal unity was obviously shattered by the Oxford Movement. A Free Churchman, finding himself differing from other Free Churchmen on points of principle as important as those which separated Tractarian and Evangelical, would as a matter of course join another communion, or, if he could not find one to his mind, endeavour to form a new one with those who felt with him. We have no glamour of antiquity to produce in us any extravagant attachment to a particular Church order. Our theory of the Church, moreover, makes organization a matter of expediency and efficiency, and only of principle in certain very broad aspects which are not much concerned by the differences between one Free Church and another. To this period of easy division has now succeeded a period of fusion ; but it is easier to divide than to reunite. In the town of some twenty thousand inhabitants in which I happen to be writing this part of my paper, there are three denominations of Methodists represented. It means, of course, much overlapping and waste of energy ; and the waste is far more flagrant in hundreds of little villages where rival Methodist chapels preserve the memory of schisms the very cause of which is wholly unknown to the grandchildren of doughty combatants in an earlier day. Meanwhile there the chapels are, and their congregations have grown up in a separate existence, each with an *ethos* of its

own that forms a subtle but very real barrier against union. Yet the spirit of unity is growing. The fusion of three small Methodist bodies into the United Methodist Church reduces the multiplicity of British Methodism to three large communions—the Wesleyan Methodist, with over half a million church members, and the Primitive Methodist and United Methodist Churches, which have nearly four-fifths of this total between them, the former with slightly the larger share. All the Methodist Churches unite for an Ecumenical Conference every ten years, alternately east and west of the Atlantic ; and we have a Concerted Action Committee on this side to further such united work as may be practicable. But the wider unity of the Free Church Council is a more effective meeting-ground, at any rate for the majority of Churches outside the Establishment. Wesleyan Methodism, the largest of them all numerically, is, I must confess, too self-contained to be very largely touched by this great movement. It will be seen that Methodist church members amount to about two per cent. of the population of Great Britain ; were regular worshippers added, this proportion would naturally have to be multiplied considerably. Without rivalling the numerical prominence which belongs to Methodism in the West, it is clear that the Churches that owe their original impulse to John Wesley have in this country an extremely strong position among Christian communities. It is, of course, mostly in the middle class and among skilled artisans that Methodism finds its adherents ; but a very large number of wealthy and well-to-do people belong to us, and in Parliament, in the professions, and at the Universities we are strongly represented.

I shall not further attempt to sketch the external position

of Methodism in English life, but turn at once to the main purpose of this paper. What does Methodism represent among the religious forces of the day ; and what contribution can she offer to the syntheses that may be coming ?

In stating at the outset that Methodism is pre-eminently Protestant, I should like to disclaim on my own account the purely polemic suggestion that the words might bear. I believe heartily in a natural dichotomy which ranges religious men by force of temperament on one of two sides in a conflict likely to be perennial. That the element of conflict will be progressively reduced is my own earnest hope, as men come to see more clearly that the division is one essentially comparable with that which cuts across all our thinking, in politics and learning as well as in religion. The rival watchwords of caution and progress, conservatism and liberalism, the past and the future, order and freedom, will continue to be shouted by intolerant partisans as if they were mutually exclusive ; but the wise will increasingly see that they are necessary complements, and that we can never wish to banish either temperament from our national and ecclesiastical life. It is quite possible to recognize this and yet hold with intense conviction the views of Truth to which our own thinking and experience have led us. Compromise between the great rival ideals is seldom practicable. We may be partisans of gas as against electric lighting, and yet frankly allow that the other illuminant has considerable advantages. Such open-mindedness will hardly induce us to insist on introducing a gaspipe into the electric bulb, to get the advantages of both. When men are so tolerant as to think that one doctrine is just as good as another, tolerance becomes the enemy of conviction, and of all the forces that make for

sincerity and earnestness. Better far the conscientious bigot than the man who thus concludes that it matters very little what a man believes. The true tolerance, which matures so slowly just because it is so rare and delicate a fruit of the purest Christian spirit, will lead men to seek in the faith of other sincere men those elements which they can accept and believe with all their soul. In finding elements from which they differ, they will try to give them a sympathetic and earnest consideration ; and in rejecting them they will not allow them to affect any more than their due proportion of the whole field of belief and practice. But if my difference from a convinced High Anglican only proves to touch one page out of ten in a manual of Christian doctrine which he and I are jointly writing for the instruction of Hindus or Buddhists, we are neither of us to say that therefore our difference is trifling and should be ignored. Loyalty to Truth forbids us to call any such differences trifling. But we must be loyal to Love at the same time, and to the highest interests of the kingdom of God. Where we cannot co-operate, we must differ, and plead with deep conviction for our own belief. Only let us see to it that if the difference affects only ten per cent. of our creed we do not spend ninety per cent. of our energy upon it. And where, as in the mission-field, the choice is between some one else's view of Christianity and no Christianity at all, let us be ready to apportion carefully our several spheres and work in them by ourselves. The Master will have a stern rebuke for us if we forbid one who casts out devils in His name, merely because though he follows Him he does not follow Him in our company.

I am afraid these general remarks on Tolerance will seem to be of the nature of truism—though, indeed, the preaching

of truisms, in such a way as to make men realize that after all they are true, seems to me one of the primary needs of our novelty-hunting age. But I dwell on the subject because it fitly introduces what I take to be central in the attitude of my own Church towards other Churches in the Catholic Unity. Within the memory of men still living, Wesleyan Methodism was predominantly Conservative in politics, and made a point of repudiating 'Dissent.' The Prayer-book was used in morning worship in a very large number of our chapels; and, speaking generally, our Church stood nearer to the Church of England than it did to other Methodist communities, not to speak of the older Dissenting Churches. The Oxford Movement has changed all that. During the past two generations we have seen the clergy of the Church of England, including its ablest leaders and the mass of the rank and file, pass over the great dividing-line of Christendom. From our Protestant Catholic point of view, the presentation of the Faith in a vast number of Anglican churches does not differ materially from the Roman Catholic presentation; the differences, though not unimportant, do not concern anything that appeals to us. The natural result is that we have been drawn nearer to the other Free Churches, whose affinity to us in the doctrine of the Ministry and the Sacraments is obvious and close. But although we have thus been detached from the link of sentiment which was forged by our history, we have in a very real sense preserved our traditional attitude. There has been no weakening of the instinct which forbids our taking any corporate action in regard to Disestablishment, or other subjects involving us in politics. Individually, our views on such subjects will not differ very much from those prevailing in other Free Churches—though the

minority of Conservatives among us is decidedly larger than with them—but there is a strong feeling against our ministers engaging in these controversies, even outside the pulpit, and they are never allowed to find an entrance into our legislative assembly, the Annual Conference.

The general recognition of the fact that by tradition and instinct the largest of all the Free Churches holds a mediating position in English denominational life might make no small difference to the friendly settlement of questions that still burn among us. Mere bigots, of course, will continue to include us in the indiscriminate condemnation that they mete out to all who cannot join their particular fellowship. Bitterness will continue to provoke bitterness, and individuals on our side may still be found retaliating with language as indefensible as the clerical spleen which sometimes provides copy for the secular press. I think I may confidently claim for Wesleyan Methodism that its official attitude, and the individual attitude of the vast majority of its members, is as loyal as ever to its founder's motto: 'I desire an offensive and defensive alliance with every true soldier of Jesus Christ.' We recognize vividly that the hostility of large and influential sections of English thought, and the far more serious apathy of the masses of the people, constitute a peril to Christianity which calls peremptorily for a closing up of our ranks. We do not ask our Anglican allies to sacrifice any principle that is dear to them. If the advanced Ritualist will only look about him, he will find that the opposition to his ritualism, as such, is far stronger within his own Church than outside. We, of course, could not worship where the service is attended with ceremonial that is to us quite meaningless, or charged with meaning that we wholly repudiate. But if our fellow

Christians find in such ritual a means of grace that brings them near to God, I would not deprive them of it. Cannot they in their turn allow that there must naturally be diversity of operations, though the Spirit is one? They find the Real Presence at the altar, where vestments of mystic significance and the priestly ministry of a celebrant bring to their souls the hallowed associations of the past. I look on, rejoicing that they have found that Presence which transforms all life, and little disposed to quarrel with the means, if proved in experience effective. Does it really involve unfaithfulness to their own doctrine if they admit that I also may have found the Real Presence in a simple prayer-meeting, or listening to a preacher who can tell of the deep things of God? I have no wish to proselytize them; the effort may wait until we have brought into some form of living Christianity the masses of pagans outside. But I plead with them by the evidence that convinced Peter's critics when he returned from his irregular fellowship with Cornelius. The Holy Spirit has manifested Himself in our midst as well as in theirs. Wesleyan missionaries took the gospel to cannibal Fiji. Presbyterian missionaries evangelized the cannibal New Hebrides. Wherein did the 'irregular' ministry of John Hunt and John G. Paton differ in its miraculous results from that of Bishop Patteson or Bishop Hannington? And if among the three thousand church members in our Manchester and Salford Wesleyan Mission there are hundreds who were once drunken savages and are now quiet, loving, and devout, what but the Real Presence Itself can have worked the transformation?

I rejoice to see increasing evidence that among the most earnest and spiritual of High Churchmen the recognition

of these hard facts of experience is making way, rubbing off the angles of their ecclesiastical theory, but not in any way damaging the elements of it which they hold most dear. There are immensely powerful solvents at work to-day which are rapidly destroying anti-Christian bigotry among all who have their eyes fixed on the conquest of the world for Christ. The Student Movement showed the way. It owed its birth, if we may select any single cause beyond others, to Moody and Sankey's memorable mission in Cambridge thirty years ago, when I was a freshman there. We who remember that wonderful week can understand best how it would affect the ecclesiastical views of the straitest sectarian. Men who owed their own souls to the gospel as preached and sung by those American evangelists, laymen whose very denomination no one knew, were not likely to unchurch any communion where that gospel was fervently held. And ever since then the note of the Student Movement—the most aboundingly hopeful phenomenon in the Christian world to-day—has been one of ready fellowship between students of widely different church views, without any weakening of denominational ties. The great World Conference at Edinburgh three years ago was a worthy climax to the work of the movement which had done so much to make it possible. It was a concentration of the fellowship which had long existed among missionaries, forced into closer unity among themselves by the patent fact that they stood for Christ, a tiny band of believers facing a vast heathen population. A unity so largely achieved in the foreign field has been more slowly and yet very really growing at home. We have studied the Scriptures together, and found wonderfully little to differ upon. Forty-three years ago the Revision

Companies met at Westminster, and for fifteen years of unremitting toil scholars of every shade of ecclesiastical colour (except Roman Catholics) pursued harmoniously their effort to clothe in English their interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. The same epoch witnessed the abolition of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge. We reap to-day the fruits of intimate associations formed in student life. Both the Universities have long had Theological Societies among the older men, where scholars of all Churches meet for the pursuit of learning. The final opening of degrees in divinity closes a long chapter of history, the first pages of which tell how (for example) my own father, Dr. W. F. Moulton, who was born as late as 1835, was debarred a University education altogether because he could not subscribe to the tests. Meanwhile in the younger Universities we are showing how theology unites. In Manchester both the professors who take New Testament subjects happen just now to be Methodists. Yet we have had Anglican students and Anglican clergymen in our classes for years, and I never heard that any one of them came out a worse Churchman than he went in. We should certainly be very much concerned if any such unintended result of our teaching were brought home to us!

I have been dwelling so long on the favourite theme of the Catholic Unity that I have left little space for dealing with the place of Methodism therein. I have at any rate shown that the fundamental principles of Methodism predispose my own Church to take a willing part in this federating movement. Perhaps I ought to add in all candour that our friends in the Church of England who are eager for Home Reunion must not waste their energy in these days

on schemes of outward union. Such appeals will produce absolutely no response on our side. We do not want the Church of England to spoil its own church machinery in order to accommodate some features of ours. And we know by experience that our own machinery works exceedingly well for the tasks which we believe God has committed to us. Why should we scrap it, merely to be brought into external union with a great many men whose honest convictions are at war with the Protestantism we hold dear? We can be much more friendly from outside than if we simply came in to increase the friction already existing between High and Low. My own dream would be that of a great Federation like that of the Free Church Council, but including all forms of British Christianity, meeting together to see how far we can co-operate, and to narrow down to definite and well-understood issues the subjects on which we must disagree. I may not live to see it, but I pray God that my children may.

If in closing I try to delineate the contribution that Methodism can offer to a great united movement of the Churches towards the coming conquest, I must disclaim any suggestion that we hold a monopoly in the same. All truly living Churches must necessarily possess these treasures. It is only a matter of emphasis. And with us the emphasis is still on the doctrine of Conversion; it was fitting that that great subject should occupy the Methodist contribution to the first issue of this review.¹ We should be forced to drop the name of Wesley if we were unfaithful to that ideal. The spiritual awakening of the degraded and the lost, at home and in heathen lands, has always been

¹ *The Significance of Conversion in the Thinking of To-day*, by Bishop McConnell.

our special ambition, and we are striving for it to-day. The preaching of the gospel to 'them that are without' is the object of our great town missions—to the oldest and largest of which I was referring lately—and of our work in non-Christian lands, the record of which through a century is filling our thoughts peculiarly this year. The doctrine does not, to my thinking at least, involve a demand that every soul must come to God by the same path. It is only that the need and the promise of salvation through the vision of Christ fills our spiritual horizon and forms the inspiration of our most successful work. Then there comes the doctrine of Experience—that for every man the greatest of all reasons for believing is his own power to say, 'Once I was blind, but now I see.' With it stands the doctrine of Holiness—the declaration that nothing less than perfect love to God and man can ever satisfy God's claim upon us, and that by His indwelling Spirit men can and must press on towards that perfection here, and not wait for it beyond the grave. These were the three great doctrines that Wesley rediscovered; and it is on the strength of our unwavering hold on them that we remain Wesleyans to-day. I have spoken of ideals. A loyal Wesleyan will be the first to admit that we fall short of them. Yet they form our supreme ambition, and we know that the Church of Christ as a whole will prosper directly as she realizes and applies them. For they make the whole stability of the Church in its battle with the powers of darkness. The loftiness of her ideal of conduct, the devotion with which she presses home, in act and not in word alone, the love for men which she has learned from her Saviour, will be the one attractive power by which she will win men from darkness into light. The strength of her own conviction that spiritual things are

more real than any things visible, that whatever changes the growth of knowledge may bring are of no moment to him who realizes God by his own soul's communion, will save the Church from falling or faltering when the forces of denial are all around her. On this Rock Christ built His Church, and the powers of death shall never prevail against her.

II

CHRISTIANITY AND DEFENSIVE WAR¹

I VENTURE to propose for the opening of this session a subject which will at least be timely and will be certain to initiate a lively discussion. The issue of the first century is before us again to-day, in a more emphatic and urgent form than it has been for a hundred years. Once more Caesar claims universal sovereignty; once more the prince of this world sets his forces in array, and as the one and only god of battles challenges the Prince of Peace for supremacy. Where do we stand, who regard the New Testament as the one sufficient guide to conduct? Has it a clear and a practical message to England at war?

I start from the axiom that the law of Christ is meant to be the norm of our public and private life, if we accept the name of Christian. What, then, are we to say of strictly defensive war? I do not stop to prove that this War is for us absolutely defensive. In the feeling of the vast majority of Englishmen it is something even more—it is in defence of our own shores ultimately, no doubt, but primarily it is the keeping of a solemn pledge to a little nation which has trusted our plighted word. Can we find a word of encouragement in the New Testament even for this national act of chivalrous self-sacrifice? A distinguished Quaker in my hearing declared the Christian

¹ A paper read at the Ministers' Fraternal, Manchester, on October 20, 1914, and again at the Bolton Wesleyan Fraternal, October 30. From the *London Quarterly Review*, January, 1915.

position to be 'quite simple': war is wholly and utterly condemned, and there is no room for a Christian man in an army. 'I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight,' is the reply of a consistent follower of Jesus now as much as in the second century.

I have myself approached this position so nearly that I must utter some palinodes before I can admit that the matter does not now appear to me 'quite simple,' but surrounded with deep perplexities. It is well to be absolutely frank about certain mistakes of which our opponents, with natural satisfaction, are reminding us at the present time. We should have the courage to confess wherein we miscalculated, and I for one face the task, not with alacrity indeed, but from sheer desire to be honest. Wherein were we wrong, and how far have we done harm by our mistake? They tell us that we produced the impression upon Germany that we should not fight, and that in consequence Germany was encouraged to bring to an issue her machinations against France. Well, here I suppose it is fair to say that if the Germans were so guileless as to believe the pacifists in a majority in this country, we can hardly be responsible for so strange a failure of the acuteness which has normally characterized that nation's rulers. But I should urge with the utmost confidence that if we pacifists do look like simpletons now, it was a noble simplicity, and one which will be a national asset when the reckoning time comes. It is sufficient proof that this country was never solid in favour of anything like an attack upon Germany, and that pacifist opinion had succeeded in abolishing any ambition, if ever it existed outside a very small circle, to be the first to attack. We certainly need never be ashamed of that which will be seen in after days to have been an excessive

idealism. We must not limit our survey to the months or years of this present awful War. The nature of our mistake is, after all, only this : that what has been called 'Bernhardihood' was even more fiendish, and far more successful, than ever we dreamed ; that the policy of 'Thorough' in scientific lying has deceived the German people into solidarity ; and that an element for which our anti-pacifist party never adequately allowed has worked great results in the German mind. I refer to the obvious panic which has influenced Germany lest the unlimited population on her eastern frontier should be directed by a military autocracy towards an ultimate war of stupendous proportions. That was at least an element which we pacifists recognized and allowed for ; and in our hour of bitter resentment against a nation responsible for the unutterable horrors of the Belgian campaign, it is well that we should remember how little the German people know of our case, and how much they think of that to which our eyes have been mostly closed.

So, turning to the reconsideration of former opinions as to the necessity of still larger military and naval preparations on our part against designs of Germany which are now all too plain, I must not shrink from admitting that the demands of 'National Service' and 'Big Navy' advocates had more plausibility than we had any means of knowing. (I do not yet admit that they made out their case, but I cannot turn aside to discuss this now.) On the knowledge available six months ago for the public at large, it was abundantly reasonable to urge that the militarist party in Germany were not running away with the nation, and that Anglo-German Friendship Committees could do more to keep the peace than armaments could do to secure

victory when war broke out. The facts now before us all show conclusively that keeping the peace was never possible except by yielding everything that Prussian ambition might choose to ask. Under this utterly changed condition we must simply start over again to find out where we stand.

In this task of defining our principles afresh we who call Christ Master and Lord must obviously start with the appeal to His authority. That aggressive war is wholly and always wrong will not be questioned by any Christian, and the only dispute will be on definitions. Universally honoured Christian theologians in Germany are sincerely convinced that their own country is on the defensive.¹ We note the fact, bewildering though it be. I cannot believe that men like Harnack and my own intimate friend, Deissmann, would defend the War on the principles of Treitschke and Bernhardi. Our question is whether Christ permits even defensive war when its real character as such is overwhelmingly clear to consciences wholly loyal to Him. This problem is to me profoundly difficult. I have sought light among the Friends, who by two hundred and fifty years of faithful testimony have established their right to speak on the Christian doctrine of Peace. I have not the faintest doubt that they are right. The grotesqueness of the exegesis by which even great theologians have justified war out of the New Testament is alone enough to emphasize the clearness and decisiveness of its witness. But here is just the difficulty. Have the classics of Christianity no message at all for a world at war, not even for the nations

¹ I have heard from Dr. Mott, who met the Church leaders and Student Christian Committees in Berlin in the middle of October, that they had not then seen the British theologians' reply to their manifesto, which he showed them. It is an excellent example of the skill with which the German people are being kept in the dark.

which are fighting only to defend themselves, by no choice of their own? Did Christ really expect us to stand aloof when Belgium appealed to us to keep our promise in her hour of need? Is it Christian ethics to urge with Mr. Keir Hardie that 'we run no risk' of invasion, and therefore, I suppose, can afford to keep out of harm's way?

There is something instinctive within us that bids us interfere when a big bully is murdering a helpless child. Does Jesus really tell us not to 'resist the evil man' when we can apply force to stop Bill Sikes from killing, or at least to divert his ferocity upon ourselves? I cannot help feeling that the Quaker in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was no apostate to his creed when he thrust the slave-hunter down the cliff with, 'Friend, thee isn't wanted here!' If the New Testament leaves no room at all for defence against a violent and unprovoked attack, must we not say that its code is defective in practical applicability to the conditions of an imperfect world?

I need hardly go into detail in setting forth Christ's teaching about war. We cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer sincerely without forgiving our enemies, and forgiveness followed up with a bayonet charge—executed either personally or by proxy, for I can recognize no distinction—has an admittedly incongruous appearance to a plain man. The Lord has no direction as to enemies than that we must love them and pray for them. Nor is there seemingly any place in the New Testament for the virtue of patriotism, as commonly understood. Love to one's country is implied in Paul's fervent prayer for Israel, for whose salvation he was willing to be 'anathema from Christ.' But that was no *exclusive* blessing. No text can be found which smiles on international rivalry. We may love our family and be

proud of it, but no Christian precept allows us to support any right or wrong claim on its behalf by force against the world outside. The Christian Scriptures know of no exclusive nationalism ; the whole human family is beloved by one heavenly Father, and there is no hint that He will help an English section of His family against a German, or German against English. I did not myself preach a sermon to commemorate our victory in the South African War, for I could not find a text in the New Testament from which to derive the discourse by any justifiable exegesis.

This compendious statement will suffice for a reminder of the position of Jesus towards war and international relations in general. I want to ask now whether there are any indications in the rest of the New Testament, and especially in the words of Jesus, which would point another way. It is natural to examine first the Sermon on the Mount, which is in considerable danger of being misunderstood. We in the West are more likely to go wrong in our interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount than anywhere else, since it is so obviously framed in terms of Oriental thought. We are fairly confronted with a *reductio ad absurdum* when we try to interpret the Sermon with prosaic literalness. Taken that way, the non-resistance passages would mean the absolute crumbling of society. We must dismiss our policemen as well as our soldiers, and capitulate to the criminal classes. If Jesus really meant that, we could only say that He was visionary and unpractical, and had no message for the world until it had already become a veritable heaven on earth. Since the superb sanity and practicableness of His teaching is as conspicuous a feature as its lofty idealism, we seem driven to ask whether it is not merely our failure to understand. These parts of

the Sermon must be read as Oriental paradoxes, intended to drive home one aspect of truth by uncompromising and vivid pictures, devoid of any qualification, and making no pretence to cover the whole range of possible circumstances. The words which tell us not to resist the evil man, to turn the other cheek to the man who strikes us on the right one, to volunteer two miles when brutally commandeered for service over only one—all these picture the lengths to which we ought to be willing to go if by such quixotic action we may turn an enemy into a friend. It is deeply significant that when Jesus Himself was smitten on the one cheek He did not turn the other, but offered a dignified remonstrance. The Sermon, in fact, endeavours to produce in us the right temper, the temper of those who realize that no sacrifice is too great if we can only win a human soul. To overcome evil with good, to conquer the enemy by refusing to let him win his triumph over our soul, is the duty pictured by Christ, and the realizing of it would turn the world upside down.

Let us look at other parts of His teaching. It is clear that Jesus recognizes war in one sense. He can draw a parable from the calculations of a king who is anxiously watching the advent of an invader, or from the 'strong man armed' who guards his palace till a stronger comes upon him, or again, less clearly in this key, from the householder keeping awake to repel the burglar. In the same way Paul uses metaphors from warfare, and refers without disapproval to soldiers on service who abandon their whole civil employment that they may please him who has enrolled them as soldiers. It seems very clear, therefore, that none of this affects the teaching of the New Testament on war. If we were to draw any argument

from it, we should be equally compelled to assume that Jesus approved of dishonest stewards or unjust judges. He takes some of His most effective illustrations from the world as it is ; and when He has proved that even that world acts on certain principles of worldly wisdom, He can prove *a fortiori* that the kingdom of heaven does not fall behind it. The one passage in the teaching of Jesus upon which reliance is generally rested for the justification of war is that in which He bids His disciples buy a sword, under the new conditions of universal hostility, even selling their coats to provide the means. The passage is very confidently interpreted by men whose judgement must be respected ; but surely the context makes this interpretation absolutely impossible. The bewildered disciples, as much bewildered as the modern interpreter, immediately answered Him by showing that they had two swords already. He sadly replied, ' It is enough,' deprecating explanation since they had been too dull to understand Him. He was only contrasting, in His own vivid way, the new conditions with the old. They had once gone forth into a world where welcome awaited them everywhere. Now the deadly hostility that was bringing the Master to death would turn upon the servant too. The sword would be the symbol of human relations in future, even within families that had been united before He came to be the test of a higher loyalty. We shall not, I suppose, take literally the 'sword' which He saw interposed between mother and daughter ! That He as little intended this other 'sword' to be taken literally is sufficiently shown by the sequel. As soon as one of those swords was applied to the only purpose for which swords were made, the Master issued a stern rebuke. We are apparently to infer that the swords were to be purely

ornamental : His disciples must sell their coats to buy them, but they must never be used. And if we want to prove this inference, it is enough to point out that the disciples never did use those swords till the final victory was already won. The Church fought the Roman Empire single-handed, the forces of love and suffering pitted against all the brute force in the world. Never once in all those generations did it occur to them to sell their coats and buy swords for literal revolt against the Roman Empire. They won their victory by dying and not by killing, and it was the greatest victory that the world has ever seen. It is strange (is it not?) that they should have unanimously agreed to ignore a command which modern interpreters think so plain !

Less hopeful still is the attempt to make capital out of the story of our Lord's ejectment of the traffickers in the Temple. The small cattle-whip does not figure very successfully as a symbol of material force. And does any one seriously suggest that it was by a display of force that He did His deed? The miracle of it lay in the tremendous exhibition of purely *moral* force. Angry men who could have overwhelmed Him immediately by weight of numbers shrank before Conscience as it blazed forth through His eyes.

Abashed the devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is.

But force was soon enough to win what it thought to be revenge !

Turning to the rest of the New Testament, the only approach to an argument that I can see comes in the approval implied in Heb. xi. upon the heroes of Old Testament times. We are told that ' by faith they turned to

flight armies of aliens.' Of course, if Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and even David received approval as having acted through faith, it must be admitted that this is an approval of deeds of war. We may safely make the militarists a present of this argument; for it ought to be apparent to every thoughtful reader that New Testament writers were capable of realizing quite as clearly as we can the most central features of the Old Testament! It is only another application of the truth implied in a traditional saying of Jesus.¹ 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of,' He said, when the example of Elijah was quoted to justify a deed of vengeance. The Old Testament belonged, as the author of *Hebrews* emphatically told us in his first sentence, to a partial and manifold revelation, sharply contrasted with the complete and uniform gospel of the Son. That being so, we naturally take the same view when we are reminded that John the Baptist had no counsel for soldiers except that they should not do violence to non-combatants, and should be content with their wages. He that was least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than the greatest prophet who came before the dawn.

It is on very different lines, I think, that we must interpret the measure of justification which the New Testament may seem to give to defensive war. The deep and penetrating saying of Jesus in answer to the Jews' question about divorce takes us very far beyond the immediate subject with which it was concerned. He declared that Moses, 'for the hardness of [men's] hearts,' gave them a commandment which moved on a lower plane than a primitive revelation that He was now restoring to its proper place.²

¹ Luke ix. 55 (R.V. marg.).

² Mark x. 5.

It reminds us that in God's dealings with this world He has often prompted His messengers to improve the second best, instead of insisting upon the best. The best is unintelligible till man has reached a far higher level ; and God's method has been to inspire His prophets to temper the lower standards of conduct with principles which will produce their result perhaps in a distant time. The New Testament, as friend and foe have often shown, never directly attacked the institution of slavery. That is because the New Testament is practical, and to denounce that institution directly would have been absolutely futile. Jesus and His apostles set themselves there as everywhere to deal with first things first. They taught the slave that he was after all a man, and therefore a son of God, and the transformation of his external condition was accomplished gradually by the slow working out of Christian principle. Now there are many requirements of Christian ethics which presume a Christian society to be the medium of their accomplishment. The problem of divorce, from which I started, is very evidently a case in point. It is still clear that a community largely consisting of those who are not Christians cannot be forced by the State to keep a law which is permanently valid only in the kingdom of heaven. The State may have to acknowledge it as an unattainable ideal, and frame its own legislation as much as possible in its spirit, with a view to minimizing to the utmost the evils that it cannot root out. Men cannot be made moral by an Act of Parliament, and we cannot impose Christian commands upon them from outside ; the Christian method is to make them Christians, and then everything will follow. Probably we must say the same thing about war. War is from first to last unchristian. We cannot deny this

without denying the New Testament as a whole. But while on the one side it takes two to make a quarrel, it is also true that if one party determines to use violence the other party may have to choose between resistance and extermination. There are conditions under which extermination will produce ultimate victory for the cause ; and that is, of course, the lesson of the days of persecution, which led to the establishment of Christianity in the Empire. But before we apply that principle, we have to be sure that the conditions are similar. The story of the Maccabees provides us with an illustration which seems to be more apposite. Obedient to the Sabbath law, the heroic soldiers of Israel refused to fight on the holy day, and were massacred by the Syrians, unresisting. It was not merely patriotism and common sense which animated Judas Maccabeus when he resolved to set aside the Sabbath and fight when he was attacked on that day. We may surely recognize a real inspiration, based upon the great principle afterwards set forth by Jesus, when He said that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.' When, then, we ask what is our duty when a wanton and savage attack is made upon a helpless little people to whom we promised our protection long ago, we have surely to reply that while we have avowedly a choice of evils, in the world as it is now constituted the worse evil of the two would be to hold aloof and let the enemy work his cruel will. The whole principle of altruism, as taught by the gospel, raises within us an instinct which cannot be mistaken. The gospel differs from all lower codes of law by the very fact that it never codifies duty under endless categories, telling us exactly what we ought to do under all conceivable circumstances. It gives us great principles, and we have

to work out those principles for ourselves. Men will read their duty very differently, and the reading of the Society of Friends is one which we must not only respect but welcome. Their testimony is to the undoubted spirit of the whole gospel, and in the nature of things the number of men whom they will influence will be too small to affect the material resources for necessary defensive war. But the sight of a community of men willing to be defamed as cowards rather than disobey their conscience is more salutary than any personal service they might render could be. And we may trust a Society with such a history to find out and apply principles of national service which will not risk the shedding of any blood but their own, but will be at least as valuable as any handling of guns could be.

This general view of the spirit of the New Testament receives support from the whole history of modern times. We have seen how Christian spirit has prompted the growth of international law, and the various enactments by which international conventions have laid down what is permissible and what is not allowed in civilized warfare. From one point of view all this seems beyond doubt to be pitifully futile. 'Civilized warfare' is a misnomer. When war comes in, civilization vanishes. But the mere laying down of rules to limit war is a concession to a spirit which Christianity has generated, pointing unmistakably to far more drastic regulations that will come, we trust, in the near future. That international law has failed in this War only emphasizes the significance of the whole movement; out of this failure we may reasonably expect accumulated momentum for the future. The Germans have palpably and admittedly broken all the most important laws to which they have themselves been

contracting parties. They plead military necessity, and they are logical enough. The very existence of war makes the breach of all kinds of laws simply inevitable. The fact that we do not break these laws only shows that humanity and civilization are too strong for our logic. When we cross the German frontier—as for the winning of peace even the soundest pacifist must pray that we may do—we shall not burn hospitals and cathedrals, or spit little children on bayonets, or shoot burgomasters for alleged misconduct of civilians. But if we decline to do such things it will be because we regard them as unworthy of ourselves. The very violation of international law has been an unveiling of the inner nature of militarism ; and it all helps to show up in its full horror that against which the world is revolting, with a fixed determination that it shall never be possible again. It is rather like other failures which the history of this War has put vividly before us. Norman Angell proved that nations could not win any permanent advantage by conquest, since the vanquished and the victor are both condemned to lose by rigid laws of economics. And then, in spite of all this, a nation which has been laying great stress upon her trade did go to war. It does not prove that Norman Angell was wrong, any more than I prove the law of gravitation a mistake by stepping off a cliff in defiance of it. The whole experience of the appalling struggle through which we are going now tends to put before the world, in the most lurid colours that history has ever seen, the true nature of the rival claimants for the homage of man's spirit. We have seen before us the logical and remorseless working out of the doctrine of Force. Nietzsche's 'superman' has done his best: whether he will succeed or not we cannot yet tell. We have no reason to

take for granted that he will not succeed. We pathetically pray, 'God defend the right!' but we must not forget that God does *not* defend the right in our way or with our weapons. Shakespeare's Henry V may pray, 'O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts'; but the god of battles is no god whom we know. It is no use to pray to the Prince of Peace for anything but peace, which He will give in His own time. For a while wrong may win and right once more be on the scaffold. It is on the scaffold, after all, that right has won its most characteristic triumphs. Probably the martyrdom of Belgium, which no indemnity however vast can ever repair, will do more for the destruction of militarism than all the brave deeds of the Allies in the field. A thousand years are with our God as one day, and one day as a thousand years, and we can never tell how soon God's victory will be won. But in the midst of this apocalypse of hell upon which we gaze with breaking hearts to-day, we still feel the assurance that the Mailed Fist can only win at best an illusory and temporary victory; the Pierced Hand will conquer in the end. And even if the prince of this world wins a victory worthy of himself by making a wilderness of all the fair lands against which he now vents his rage, 'having great wrath knowing he hath but a short time,' we believe that God will yet make that wilderness to blossom as a rose. It may not be here; it may be only a new creation that can repair the ravages which man inspired by the devil has wrought upon God's earth. But still with undimmed faith 'we look for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.' ¹

¹ I have kept back the proof to the end of November to see if anything intervened which might affect the argument. I do not think there are any necessary addenda, unless it be to recommend the reading of *Friends and the War*, the report of the Quaker conference at Llandudno, and the series of papers edited by the Rev. W. Temple.

III

'INSPIRED' SUPPLICATION

(JAS. v. 16)

I AM much interested in your exposition ¹ of this great verse, and write to add a little information which is exclusive to the few who have inherited a copy of that precious volume, the Revisers' (unpublished) First Draft. Its peculiar value is that it tells us when a clear majority of the Revisers favoured a changed reading or rendering; for in the final revision (alas!) eight conservatives could outvote fifteen reformers. In this case the interest is of a different kind. There are two marginal readings against 'earnest,' which appears in the text; the second anticipates the interpretation you quote from my friend, Dr. Rendel Harris: it is 'Or, *working mightily*, or, *inwrought* from above.' I remember my father, Dr. W. F. Moulton, insisting on that last translation well over thirty years ago, when I read the Epistle first as one of his boys at The Leys; and I think he must have been kept away from the Jerusalem Chamber when that chapter was finally revised, and both text and margin damaged. I chronicled this in 1906 (*Prolegomena*, p. 156), and noted that by that time the passive rendering of ἐνεργουμένη was coming to its own, thanks especially to Dr. J. B. Mayor, and to Dean Armitage Robinson's note in his classical commentary on *Ephesians*. Now you tell

¹ 'Notes of Recent Exposition' in the *Expository Times* for April, 1915 (vol. xxvi., p. 381).

us ‘scholars are unanimous,’ and I am very glad, though I should demur to the suggestion that the majority showed ‘insufficient scholarship’ when they preferred the middle to the passive. I should hardly like to assert dogmatically that ἐνεργεῖσθαι is *never* middle.

But if ἐνεργουμένη is passive, we have to ask ὑπὸ τίνος ; I have always answered ‘By the Holy Spirit,’ and in a little commentary on the Epistle (not yet published) I translate ‘inspired.’ And my reasons are, firstly, that the verb is almost a technical word in the New Testament to describe *divine* energy ; and, secondly, that the example of Elijah, James’s own proof, seems to require it. Where is it said in the Book of Kings that Elijah prayed either for drought or for rain? Elijah’s very first appearance is with the words : ‘As Yahweh the God of Israel liveth, *before whom I stand*, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word.’ Elijah lives in the King’s Presence-chamber ; and ‘surely the Lord Yahweh will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets.’ When the drought is about to end, ‘the word of Yahweh came to Elijah, in the third year, saying, Go, show thyself unto Ahab ; and I will send rain upon the earth.’ Again prayer is listening, not speech—receiving, not asking. I am greatly relieved in my own mind to think that Elijah did *not* entreat God for this awful judgement on his people, from a mere personal conviction that they needed it. But if God whispered His intention into the prophet’s ear, I can well understand his making this supplication. Men may say it becomes superfluous, if God has already declared what He means to do. Yes, but how do we know what are the determining conditions of drought, or rain, or any phenomena in the outward world? Does the physicist

claim that he knows *all* the forces that maintain or disturb the delicate balance? May not spiritual forces count for a great deal more than we know? 'More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of.'

In urging the importance of recognizing '*inspired supplication*' in this *locus classicus* on Prayer, I am not rejecting the very interesting deductions you yourself draw. But 'the energy that the man himself throws into it' may be admitted in the same breath as the assertion that the energy is divine. Paul is at one here with James—as usual! Paul contradicts himself flagrantly within one sentence when he bids the Philippians work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, 'FOR it is God which worketh in you [ἐνεργῶν!] both to will and to work, for His good pleasure'! The work is all ours, *and* it is all God's. Strange that Paul, a quite unusually intelligent man, never saw the faulty logic of which any dabbler in philosophy can so easily convict him! And again Paul tells the Romans that 'the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered'—*our* groanings, therefore. We cannot expect to understand in this world the full meaning of Divine Immanence. But just as parallel straight lines meet at infinity, so do many contradictory truths meet in God.

Perhaps the main reason why I have been wrestling with this great text and context for years past is that James draws such an amazing inference as to the problem of pain. The 'Christian Scientist' has interpreted James quite literally, and produced a *reductio ad absurdum*. The senior members of the congregation are to gather round the sick man, and when they have used a simple remedy they are to pray over him. 'And the prayer of faith shall save

physically] him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.’ So if there were only enough ‘elders’ in the world who could pray a ‘prayer of faith,’ there would be ‘no more death, neither mourning, nor crying, nor pain.’ Then what about that prayer which did not remove Paul’s ‘thorn in the flesh’? Nay, what about that other prayer which only brought the agony of Calvary upon that of the Garden?

I think that *ἐνεργουμένη* holds the key to the problem. Elijah was not the last man admitted to the Presence, to hear things that cannot be uttered. There are two mothers whose sons are starting for the front to-day, close friends, and both alike devout and loving and full of faith. Both have been praying fervently that their boys may return safely. In the prayer of one there is a serene certainty. She will pray on, till the evil thing is over; and all the time she *knows* she will see him again safe and sound. In the other prayer there is from the first the note of resignation. The mother has given her son to her country’s need, and she knows that very many will not only offer but lay down life for what is dearer than life—why should her boy be spared when another mother is heart-broken? So in her unceasing prayer there is the burden, ‘Father, if it be possible, remove this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but Thine be done!’ What shall we say when the first woman’s son comes home unhurt, only to tell how his friend charged him with dying messages of love to his mother? Was there less faith in one prayer than the other? Was the first prayer superfluous and the other unheard on high? Nay, was not the one an unseen agency in God’s hand which did its part in keeping that soldier safe from harm? A thousand fell at his side, but it came not near him, for Prayer kept shot and shell away. And as

to the other prayer, was it not answered from the first with 'power made perfect in weakness'? We ask wistfully why one was taken and the other left. Ah, but we do not know what ordained tasks were waiting, one here, another there. The prayer that seemingly was not answered will bring the stricken mother grace for her need, and if not vision, most certainly faith that somewhere her boy is already beginning a more important duty than she dreamed for him to do on earth. Such, I take it, is 'inspired' supplication. How does it work in that faithful community that James portrays? One member is sick, and there come to him at his call other members, ripe in experience of the things of God. They use an ordinary remedy, praying for blessing on its use; and they pray for him, when he has told them what is on his mind, as they are ready to tell him what is on theirs. In gracious fellowship they seek the Lord together, and a conviction steals into their minds that God still has need of His servant to serve Him there. Who sent it? He who can use both the oil and the prayer to cure the body He made, and accounts the prayer more potent than the oil, or even than our whole modern pharmacopoeia.¹

James does not here contemplate the case where these good men will pray, and pray believingly, but physical 'saving' will *not* follow. But was it not he who told us that our words should always be, 'If the Lord will, we shall both live, and do this or that'? We may be sure he never dreamed that those 'elders' would always have the inspired conviction that their brother would recover. One recalls that picture, familiar to every Methodist, of

¹ May I note here that I am trying to interpret an amazing personal experience of Mr. C. T. Studd's in the heart of Africa, as told us by himself at the W.M.M.S. meeting in Manchester this March?

the dying Wesley in the little room in City Road, with his preachers around him. Some are weeping ; all, we may be sure, are praying. Were they wanting in faith if they hardly thought of asking that God would add to those wonderfully fruitful eighty-eight years? Did not faith rather bring to them the message that God would take away their master from their head that day? The prayer of faith pleaded for grace to do God's work without him. And the experience of a century and a quarter tells us that it was answered.

IV

'IT IS HIS ANGEL'¹

THERE are sundry passages in the Old Testament and in the New where the word *angel* seems to be used in a sense decidedly different from that which we usually assign to it. An angel is in Scripture an entirely heavenly being, albeit manifested to men in a human form as God's 'messenger' to them. In the passages I propose to examine he is rather a *representative* of men, dwelling in the heavenly world. The common term 'guardian angel' tends to bridge the gulf that lies between these two classes of spirits. If I may state my conclusion first and present the evidence later, I should describe the 'representative angels' as spiritual counterparts of human individuals or communities, dwelling in heaven, but subject to changes depending on the good or evil behaviour of their complementary beings on earth. I will first bring forward the biblical passages in question and interpret them on this assumption, and then advance some suggestions as to the origin of this belief, which I hope to show is closely connected with a strongly developed tenet of Zoroastrianism.

The only clear Old Testament passages are found at the end of the Book of Daniel: see Driver's note on x. 13. Here the term *prince* (שר) is exclusively used. These 'princes' represent Persia, Greece, and other nations. They are certainly not 'messengers of Jehovah,' for we

¹ From *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 1901-2 (vol. iii., 514-527).

find the ‘ prince of Persia ’ actually restraining for three weeks the messenger sent to Daniel, and it is only the intervention of a mightier ‘ prince ’ which enables the messenger to pursue his journey. It would be natural to infer that these princes were simply the old gods of the nations, with their status adapted to the later monotheism. Such a view would suit Ben-Sira excellently (xvii. 17, where ἡγούμενον presumably represents מַלְאָךְ, as it does in eleven Old Testament passages,¹ according to Hatch and Redpath). But for Daniel there is an objection which seems absolutely fatal, in that Israel’s prince is not Jehovah but Michael. It is natural to infer that Ben-Sira represents the native Jewish standpoint, while Daniel shows the influence of a foreign idea. If we suppose that this idea involves the existence of counterparts or impersonations of the nations in the supersensual world, we are free to regard ‘ El Triumphant ’ (Michael, ‘ who is like El ? ’) as the heavenly ‘ double ’ of Israel, ‘ El strives (?) ’ on earth. In Weber’s *Jüdische Theologie*,² pp. 107 f., there are cited Talmudic passages showing the solidarity of each nation with its heavenly prince.³ Before God punishes a nation He humbles its angel, whom He will at the last judge before He judges the nation. That the conception of guardianship was not by any means excluded, either in Daniel or in the Talmud, shows that the foreign element was thoroughly assimilated ; it is not till New Testament times that we find angels purely representative.

Whether there is anything else in the Old Testament which may be set with these passages in Daniel and Ben-Sira is very hard to say. Deut. xxxii. 8 would be closely

¹ But not in Daniel i. c., where LXX has στρατηγός, Theodot. ἀρχων.

² See also Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, i. 814 f. (cited by Delitzsch).

parallel to the latter if the LXX reading were accepted. Ps. lxxxii. can be interpreted as addressed to representative angels, if the postulate of a decidedly late date be granted; cf. Ps. lviii. 1, if אֱלִים be read. The only really probable addition to be made is Isa. xxiv. 21 ff. (so Delitzsch, Cheyne, &c.). As Professor Bevan observes, 'The fact that in Dan. x. this belief is rather presupposed than definitely stated shows that the author is here dealing with a conception already familiar to his readers.'

The inclusion of these 'ideas'—to use the obvious Platonic phraseology—under the same name as the angels properly so called, is first found in the New Testament. It is immediately manifest that the conception I have described exactly fits what we desiderate for the 'angels of the seven churches' in the Apocalypse. At the very outset (i. 20) they are identified with the 'seven stars' seen in the glorified Redeemer's hand; and, as we shall see later, there is a close connexion between these 'angels' and the stars in popular creeds of Asia. In the messages to the Seven Churches the being addressed is an 'angel' who concentrates into his own personality the virtues and the sins of the community he represents. He is commanded to repent, to be faithful unto death, to be watchful, and so on. In two passages (ii. 10, iii. 11) he is promised as a reward for faithfulness 'the crown'—that is the *στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς* of the Agraphon preserved in Jas. i. 12. But the penalty for unfaithfulness falls mostly on the earthly partner of his being. The Lord will 'come,'¹ in displeasure at him, and move his *λυχρία* out of its place; but the *λυχρία* is the church, of which the star is the angel. If he does not repent of harbouring the Nicolaitans, the Lord will 'come'—

¹ ii. 5 ἔρχομαι σοι, not πρὸς σε: it is *dativus incommodi*.

again ἔρχομαί σοι—‘and make war against *them*.’ ἡξω ὡς κλέπτῃς . . . ἐπὶ σέ is the only threat directed against the angel of the all but dead church at Sardis. In the last letter we have ‘I will spew thee out of my mouth’; but even this is followed by renewed offers of divine grace which seem to emphasize the extreme unwillingness to conceive of the ‘angel’ as capable of final ruin, whatever might happen to his ‘lampstand’ on earth. The connexion of this with the general doctrine we shall see later.

‘The angels’ of individuals appear twice in the New Testament. In Acts xii. 15 Peter’s angel is imagined to have spoken to the girl Rhoda who answers the door. We cannot deduce much from this, except that the incredulous Christians, if they meant Peter’s ghost, must have thought of a ‘phantasm of the living,’ for there is no suggestion that they supposed he was dead without their having heard of it. The conditions are best satisfied with the assumption that they imagined Peter’s angel or heavenly counterpart to have taken his shape and appeared as his ‘double.’ Incomparably more important, of course, is the saying of our Lord, reported in Matt. xviii. 10, in which it seems to me clear that He meant to set His seal upon the doctrine now under consideration. That doctrine is not, however, the existence of ‘*guardian* angels.’ The importance of the *debita pueris reverentia* is not especially inculcated by the statement that angels charged with their care are always near the throne; we should rather expect to find them ‘encamping around’ their charges. Substitute the idea of the heavenly counterpart,¹ and we get at

¹ Mr. Murray supplies me with an interesting quotation from F. D. Maurice (*Unity of the N.T.*, vol. i., p. 183): ‘The little child, the humblest human creature, was dear to his Father in heaven. He did not look upon it merely as a fallen, corrupted thing. Its angel, its pure original type,

once a profound reason for their presence nearest to the Father. They represent *those who have not yet learned to sin*, despite the potentialities which time will develop. The 'angels of the little ones' are nearest to God for the same reason as their earthly counterparts are typical members of the kingdom of heaven. As sin asserts its power over the child, its angel must correspondingly lose its privilege, to be regained only when stern conflict has for ever slain the primal enemy. It was not mere poetry when Wordsworth sang of the heaven that 'lies around us in our infancy,' and how the 'vision splendid' fades with the advance of life—to have its second rising, we may thankfully add, in the dawn of what shall never be a 'common day.'

There do not seem to be other biblical passages making clear reference to this kind of 'angel.' It seems just possible that an explanation of 1 Cor. xi. 10 may be deduced from the conception. In the world where all things are done *κατὰ τάξιν*, the 'angels' of the women keep their proper place relative to those of the men: wherefore let their earthly counterparts likewise bow to authority, and wear its sign on their heads. This explanation is at least as simple as some that have been offered! In vi. 3, combined with Matt. xiv. 28, we may plausibly see God's servants pronouncing His judgements on 'angels' of communities or individuals, just as the prophets pronounced them on Ephraim or Judah of old. Stade (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ii. 241) finds *guardian* angels of individuals in Job

that which it was created to be, was ever present with Him, was ever looking up into His face.' Maurice is, however, interpreting Scripture more from Plato than on the lines developed here; neither the 'angels of the churches' nor the Zoroastrian conception to be described later have anything 'ideal' about them.

v. i, xxxiii. 23, the latter passage, however, being obscure. It may be questioned whether these passages go much beyond the ordinary conception of ministering spirits; obviously they have nothing in common with the representative angels with which we are here concerned. As we have seen, even in Daniel the representative angels are not free from guardian functions; and it is not till the New Testament period that the conception is found quite unmixed, and there only in a few passages. Indeed, the case for treating the phenomenon as essentially due to foreign influence is greatly strengthened by the evidence which shows how little hold the conception had in Judaism, and how easily it glided into the thoroughly native idea of ‘ministering spirits, sent forth to do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation.’

I am not competent to essay any systematic effort to trace this doctrine in post-apostolic Christianity. I may, however, quote some suggestions which were made by members of the Cambridge Theological Society when I read this paper in its original form. Dr. J. P. Arendzen compared a passage in the ‘Testament of the Lord,’ which stands thus in Rahmani’s translation: ‘Quae enim [*sc. uiduae*] probe ministraverint, ab archangelis glorificabuntur. quae uero sunt intemperantes, loquaces [*&c.*], simulacra ipsarum animarum, quae stant coram Patre luminis, peribunt et adducentur ad habitandas tenebras. cum enim opera ipsarum, quae quidem uisibilia sunt, ad excelsum ascendent, facile ipsas impellent in abyssum, ut post mutationem et interitum huius mundi ipsa simulacra earundem animarum surgant in testimonium contra ipsas, impedianque illas, quominus sursum adspiciant. *cuiusuis enim animae simulacrum seu typus coram Deo ante constitu-*

tionem mundi stat' (p. 97). The existence of these archetypal souls with God before the beginning of the creation is a cardinal feature of the Zoroastrian doctrine which will be presently described. Mr. Glover mentioned a passage in the Latin *Visio Pauli*,¹ where angels inhabiting human beings go up to heaven to report their good and bad deeds to God; note also that there are angels of communities—*'angelus uniuscuiusque populi et uniuscuiusque uiri et mulieris, qui protegunt et conseruant eos.'* These are, however, *guardian* angels, and in any case the caution noted lower (p. 59, note) must apply. A certain similarity was noticed by Professor Chase between the *πλήρωμα* and *κένωμα* of the Valentinian system and the heavenly and earthly counterparts here under discussion; we may presume Eastern as well as Platonic elements in this Gnosis. Neoplatonic parallels were suggested by Mr. Glover, in the divinity who, according to Porphyry, visited Plotinus²; and by Mr. Hart, in Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*. The closest parallel adduced was the 'Heavenly Robe' in the *Hymn of the Soul*. Mr. Burkitt drew attention to line 91 in Professor Bevan's edition, which in his own paraphrase runs:

I heard it [the Robe] cry aloud to them that carried it:

'There is the Paladin, for whom they reared me up!

Have I not known that with his toils my stature grew?'

The Robe has been previously described as the image of the soul, which is finally to be united to it. This is pure

¹ M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, i., p. 13.

² *Vita*, ch. 10: τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ οἰκείου δαίμονος καλουμένου. *Ib.* ἔστι γοῦν αὐτῷ . . . καὶ βιβλίον γραφὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐληχότος ἡμᾶς δαίμονος. Cf. Augustine C. D. x. 9. The *Jaemon* in question would answer to the Greek conception rather than the Persian.

Parsism : cf. the passage from Darmesteter quoted below, p. 54, note. We may also compare the exquisite picture in *Yasht* xxii. of the good man's Conscience coming to meet his soul after death, embodied as a fair maiden, whose beauty has been growing with every one of his good thoughts, words, and deeds. But there is indeed in the *Hymn* at least as much Parsism as Christianity. In expressing thus my own first impression on reading the *Hymn* I am glad to find myself in agreement with the latest writer on the relations of Judaism and Parsism, E. Böklen, in his careful study of the eschatology of the two religions.¹ There is, in fact, the same ambiguity as in the case of Mani, whose heresy is variously claimed as Christianity tainted with Parsism, as Parsism with a strain of Christianity, and as Chaldaeism with elements drawn from both. It is interesting to notice that Syriac literature has given us our two best parallels to the Parsi conception. How much more Parsism lies buried in Syrian Christianity the experts in this field might with great advantage inquire.

Before passing on, I should like to mention a remarkable appearance of the 'representative angel' in a region lying rather aside from the path of the specialist in patristics. In the *Inscriptiones Maris Aegaei*, vol. iii., there are catalogued about forty Christian tombs from Thera with the inscription ἄγγελος τοῦ δέϊνος. Once or twice the formula has ἀγγέλου, but (as Professor Ramsay notes in a letter to me) never ἀγγέλῳ, in marked contrast to the similar-seeming *dis manibus sacrum*. In one inscription (946) we have ἄγγελος Καλλινόης καὶ Εὐφραντικῆς. No. 1,238, the only one outside Thera, has the following legend :

¹ *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902), pp. 46 f., 64.

καὶ ἐπὶ γέμει τὸ θηκίον τοῦτο, ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν ὧδε ἐφειστώτα ἄγγελον μὴ τίς ποτε τολμῇ ἐνθάδε καταθέσθαι. This suggests that the angel was supposed to be hovering over the tomb, so that we translate the Theraean formula, 'Here is the angel of so-and-so.' In other words, we have a veneer of Christianity (for this is a Christian inscription) overlying the immemorial belief of the Pelasgian race, that the soul of the dead man remained in or near the tomb which was his home: see Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*, i., pp. 510 f.

We proceed to ask how this belief arose within Judaism. The essence of it is, as I have said, that the 'angel' is not the *guardian* but the *representative*, the 'double' of the person with whom he is associated. If I am right in my exegesis, it is not easy to attach this idea naturally to the ordinary Old Testament conception of angels. It is not enough to call in Talmudic passages which show that angels, like Homeric gods, sometimes assumed the form of certain human beings; for examples see J. Lightfoot on Acts xii. 15. The mere assumption of a man's form and likeness may explain that passage fairly, but it does not help Matt. xviii. 10, and still less does it throw light on the 'Angels of the Churches,' which have to be (in Professor Gwatkin's words) '*personifications* of their Churches.' It seems reasonable to ask whether foreign influence will account for the rise of this doctrine, and, if so, whence that influence came.

The grounds on which I fix upon Parsism as the influence in question cannot be exhaustively discussed within the limits of this paper. Perhaps I may refer to the article 'Zoroastrianism' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, in which I have discussed in detail the alleged Parsic traits in Jewish

angelology, demonology, and the doctrine of the Resurrection. That the Zoroastrian *fravashis* answer exactly to what we desiderate as the original hint for these representative angels will be easily shown. That they actually supplied the hint is not so easy to prove; but we may fairly call in as evidence the coincident fact that the latest Jewish developments of doctrine, as seen in the New Testament, are remarkably parallel with the doctrines of Parsism. We must probably admit that the ultimate similarity was largely reached by different roads. But the Jews of the last centuries B.C. undeniably knew that the Persians, to whom they owed their deliverance from Babylon and the protection of their infant community after the Return, believed in the resurrection and in hierarchies of angels and spirits. It seems fair to conclude that this knowledge may well have afforded a stimulus to Jewish thinkers, prompting them to recognize such beliefs as latent in the first principles of Judaism.

The Avestan title of the angels under discussion is nearly always *asaonam fravasayō*, ‘*fravashis* of the pious.’ There is no trace of *fravashis* of the wicked; and only in one late writing is there an allusion to the fate of the *fravashi* when a good man fell into sin. We gather that it fled away to Ahura Mazda, and practically ceased to be. The attributes of the *fravashis* are not very easy to define consistently; it would seem that the concept includes elements from different sources. Many of their features are those of *manes*, ‘the good folks,’ who from the tenth to the twentieth of March revisit the earth and are feasted by the living. It is easy to recognize here the *pitaras*, ‘fathers,’ of the Rigveda. The conception is one found largely among Indo-Germanic peoples; but while the dependence of the dead upon the

living, which leaves a bare trace behind in the Feast of the Dead, is a common idea, the Iranians have emphasized much more considerably the manifold beneficence of these spirits on earth. We are told that they were once located in heaven, but came down eager to fight against the powers of evil and promote the ultimate triumph of Ahura Mazda. Moreover, we find they belong not only to the dead but to the living and to those not yet born. Ahura Mazda himself has his *fravashi*¹; and in a passage of the long Avestan hymn especially addressed to the *fravashis* (*Yasht* xiii. 21 f.) we find probably *fravashis* of communities.² Clearly, therefore, they are not only *manes*, and only a part of their attributes can be explained from such an origin. Here comes in, therefore, the analysis of the 'Rabbis' of later Parsism, who define man as made of body, life, soul, form, and *fravashi*³; the soul at death becomes immortal by

¹ Professor Barnes remarked on the apparent identification of Jehovah and His angel, in Judges vi. 11-24, and other passages. It is certainly tempting to connect this with the fact that Ahura has his *fravashi*, or double; but it is very hard to see how there could be an historical connexion so early. I am inclined to agree rather with those who find Parsi influence only in the *later* Jewish angelology. The native Hebrew doctrine would give no names to angels and no individuality, regarding them merely as manifestations of Jehovah. The Jews preserved the tradition that 'the names of the angels came up with them from Babylon'—that is, from the Exile generally.

² We worship the *fravashis* of house and family and clan and township and high-priests [lit. "highest Zarathushtras"—the prophet's name in a superlative form], past, present, and future, who are pious.' The words are virtually repeated in *Yasna*, xxvi. 1 and xvii. 18. In the last passage, cf. Mills in *S. B. E.*, xxxi. 259, whose translation agrees with mine. Darmesteter differs, but his rendering seems rather forced.

³ The whole passage is thus translated by Darmesteter (*Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 500): 'Auhrmazd a composé l'homme de cinq éléments: le corps, la vie, l'ame, la forme, et le *frôhar* [*fravashi*]. Le corps est la partie matérielle. La vie est l'élément lié au vent. . . . L'ame est ce qui, dans le corps, avec le secours des sens, entend, voit, parle et connaît. La forme (litt. "le miroir," "l'image") est ce qui est dans la sphère du soleil. Le *frôhar* est ce qui est devant le Seigneur Auhrmazd. Ces éléments ont été créés de telle nature que quand sous l'action du démon l'homme meurt, le corps retourne à la terre, la vie au vent, la forme au soleil, et l'ame se lie au *frôhar*,

union with the *fravashi*, which is described as the part of man which is in the presence of Ahura. The *fravashi* is therefore not a guardian spirit, something detached from man and watching over him. It is an inseparable part of him, the part which is hidden with God. The origin of this conception may well be entirely independent of the belief in the spirits of ancestors. Nothing seems clearer in the history of Zoroastrianism than the fact that we have to recognize three distinct strata, due respectively to (1) the primitive Iranian nature-worship, (2) the reform of Zoroaster, (3) the modification of this reformed, but partially relapsed, Iranian religion by the Magi. The general description of this Magian counter-reformation would be that they introduced ritual into a religion which before then had hardly any at all. To them we should probably ascribe the mechanical division of actions and creatures between the Good Spirit and the Evil, the endless ceremonies by which demons are exorcised, the extravagant sanctity assigned to earth, water, and especially fire, the magical efficacy of prayer-formulas punctually repeated in a dead language. Antiquity, moreover, expressly connected with them two characteristic practices, one the most obvious feature of Parsi settlements to-day, the other vehemently repudiated by Parsis for many centuries, and successfully shown to be absent from the Avesta, viz. (1) the exposure of the dead on ‘Towers of Silence’ to be devoured by vultures; (2) the supreme religious merit of incestuous marriages.

de sort qu'ils ne peuvent faire périr l'ame.' Darmesteter observes, 'Autrement dit, le frohar est l'élément divin de la personne humaine, et il est le seul élément immortel de nature puisque l'ame n'échappe à la mort que par son union au frohar.' The return of the ‘image’ to the sun seems to account for the shadowless character of the resurrection body (Theopompus ap. Plutarch *Isis et Osiris*, ch. 47). For ideas connected with shadows see Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i. 290 f.

There is not much else that we can gather about the Magi apart from the religion with which they became so completely identified. We know from Herodotus that they were one of the five tribes of the Medes, from him and the Behistan Inscription that under Gaumata the pseudo-Smerdis they made a bold bid for political power, and that the feast of the *Μαγοφόνια* was instituted to commemorate their defeat. In Jer. xxxix. 3, 13 we have the title Rab-Mag, apparently denoting the official head of a sacred caste at Babylon. Another pre-exilic reference to them must be traced in Ezek. viii, 16 f. Parsi priests may be seen to-day adoring the sun, with the branch held to their face—the *barsom*, or 'bundle of fine tamarisk boughs,' as Strabo calls it. The 'abomination' which Ezekiel beheld in the Temple was presumably a rite of Magianism pure and simple, before the conflation of Magianism and Zoroastrianism proper, which seems to have been completed in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, early in the fourth century B.C. Finally, we have the considerable ancient testimony connecting the Magi with astrology and with magic, both practices absent from the Avesta, and the latter definitely banned.

This scanty evidence does not give us very decisive help in recognizing Magian elements when we meet them in Parsism or elsewhere. But, such as it is, it justifies our making the Magi stand sponsors for the treatment of the *fravashi* as an immortal part of man's nature, dwelling in heaven, and sharing all the changes of its mortal counterpart on earth. With this goes the allotting of a *fravashi* to a community, and even to the Supreme Being. I would even conjecture that the purely Magian conception originally assigned a *fravashi* to a bad man : the restriction to the

good clearly is a trait derived from the other conception, in which the *fravashis* are the *manes*, and it only introduces confusion into the psychological idea just described. Now during the Exile, Hebrews at Babylon and ‘in the cities of the Medes’ were brought into close contact with the Magi. There they picked up the Median folk-tale—especially permeated with Magianism, as I have tried elsewhere to show¹—which one of them adapted for purposes of edification in the romance *Tobit*. There, on my theory, they learnt the Magian notion of representative spirits in heaven, subject to moral development or degeneration with the individual or community on earth to which they belong. There too, from Magians who were not careful to square their doctrines with the Avesta, they may have learnt to identify these representative spirits with the stars. And from the Jews at the same time these Magi may have learnt enough of their national hopes to account for the event of Matt. ii., where the appearance of a brilliant new star is interpreted by these skilled *ὄνειροπόμοι* as the *fravashi* of a king new-born in Judaea. I must only briefly indicate the bearing of what I have said upon this event. Classical testimony is decisive as to the astrology of the Magi, and the traces (very scanty, I admit) in Parsi literature of an identification of the *fravashis* with stars are so much in keeping with what we know of their doctrines that we are fairly justified in regarding it as a genuine Magian belief, whether or no it was ever a part of Parsi orthodoxy. In that case we can see what would happen if a brilliant new star suddenly appeared,² like that which

¹ See *Expos. Times*, March, 1900; Hastings, *D. B.*, ‘Zoroastrianism,’ § 4.

² A conjunction of planets will not do, for the planets were malign in what was presumably the Magian system. Their retaining the names of angels shows that the pure Persian creed had not so regarded them.

flashed out in Perseus in February, 1901. It would be the *fravashi* of a great man just born. Why of a *King of the Jews* does not appear; but, since we know that a dream guided them before their return, it is not an extravagant supposition that a dream prompted their first interpretation of the phenomenon to which their astrological study directed their attention. It might be added that we are not obliged to restrict ourselves to phenomena which happen to have been recorded. Careful watchers of the skies like these Magi would recognize the appearance of a star like Nova Persei, just reaching the first magnitude; but it is highly doubtful whether such a phenomenon would be noticed at all by ordinary people. Scores of temporary stars as bright as that may have escaped observation in the last nineteen centuries.

The conception of 'representative angels' would almost inevitably glide into conceptions closely akin to it. On the one side there is the notion of a 'double,' the heavenly counterpart visualized on earth.¹ On the other side there is the idea of a 'guardian' angel, which would be naturally developed in a Jewish atmosphere; the already noted syncretism in the Parsi idea of the *fravashi* prepares the way for it. The part played by Raphael in *Tobit* does not exclusively come under either of these heads. In the Median folk-tale already alluded to, the young man's travelling companion must have been the 'Grateful Dead Man,' who takes the same part in a story found over a very wide area, from Hans Andersen to Kashmir. The Jew who rewrote the story has substituted an angel, who is at once the 'double' of the dead man buried by Tobit, and a ministering angel sent to help Tobit's son because of his piety.

¹ On these 'doubles' see Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i. 249.

Before treating as provisionally proved this indebtedness of Judaism to Magianism, I ought to deal with the counter-claim on behalf of the Greek *δαίμων* or the Roman *Genius*, usually made by commentators on our text from the *Acts*. Horace (*Epp.* ii. 2. 187-9) has a well-known picture of the *Genius*, man’s comrade who rules his natal star, lives and dies with him, and shines or lowers in countenance as the man does well or ill. Orelli’s note on this passage gives us an excellent collection of classical illustrations, and there is a long and detailed account of the *Genius* in the third-century writer Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, chs. ii., iii. One sentence from this writer will go far to decide the question we are asking now: ‘*Genius est deus, cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est uiuit.*’ True, he is defined by Varro as a man’s *animus rationalis*, but that does not suffice to contradict the clear evidence that the *Genius* is a *guardian* deity.¹ When we add that he can hardly have been known in Palestine early enough for the purpose, even if Roman religious ideas had been as welcome there as they were unwelcome, we have presumably disposed of his claim. Greek ideas had a fairer field, but the *δαίμων* has even less in common with the ‘representative angel.’ Take Dion Chrysostom’s definition, ‘That which dominates a man, in accordance with which he lives,’ or again, ‘Something outside, which rules the man and is lord of him.’ It is true

¹ It is remarkable how great the general similarity is between the *Genius* and the *Fravashi*. The *Genius*, with his female counterpart the *Juno*, is the special patron of birth, a function which markedly belongs to the *fravashis*. Both seem to combine the ideas of an inborn part of the individual and a power which watches over him. And both from belonging to individuals acquire relations to communities, the *Genius* very markedly. See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (in Iwan v. Müller’s *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 4), pp. 154 ff. The close similarity would have to be taken into account whenever the source of a late Christian conception is being sought: in such cases, development from New Testament doctrine ought not to be assumed as a matter of course.

that, like the *fravashi*, the δαίμων is ἀγαθός; but we may fairly conclude that like the Genius he is ultimately an ancestral spirit taking a kindly interest in a descendant who is his ward.

If I have not already travelled too far, I should like to conclude with a conjecture as to the source of this Magian *fravashi*. The idea seems to me essentially identical with that of the External Soul, expounded very fully by Dr. J. G. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*,¹ iii. 351-446.¹ It is shown there that primitive peoples in various parts of the world imagine the soul or life of a human being to reside somewhere outside him.² Sometimes it is no farther away than his hair, but in a great many cases it lives in some distant object—animal, plant, or inanimate thing—which must be destroyed before the man's life can be taken. In a large class of folk-tales embodying this belief, the life of a giant or a witch is safely stored in some absolutely inaccessible place, and the hero's triumph lies in his finding and destroying it, generally by the help of friendly animals. It is unnecessary to say that the Magian *fravashi* is a conception immeasurably loftier than this naïve savage notion—though, if we are inclined to despise the latter too heartily, it is well to remember that our German and Keltic ancestors must have held it in all good faith centuries after the Magi had risen to their development of this primitive

¹ I am very glad to have Dr. Frazer's approval in this suggestion.

² That something like this idea survived among the Israelites of the early monarchy, at least to such an extent as to suggest a figure of speech, may be inferred from 1 Sam. xxv. 29, to which Professor Bevan called my attention. David's life, says Abigail, is kept safe with Jehovah in the 'bundle of life,' as a householder makes up a bundle of the things he most wishes preserved; the lives of his enemies He will 'sling away.' Another biblical example of the separate soul may be seen in the magical ceremonies with which the prophetesses denounced by Ezekiel (xiii. 17 ff.) 'hunt souls' (Robertson Smith *ap.* Frazer *G. B.*,² i. 285 n.).

germ. It seems just the kind of idea which the speculative East would naturally evolve out of such a primitive inheritance. If this be so, the theory of the present paper becomes a study in religious evolution, as applied to one corner of a field which may well show many similar examples.¹ It appears that a belief which actually has the seal of the Lord Christ’s approval had not been a special revelation to Israel, but was derived originally from the Magi, the very people whose representatives, generations later, were destined to offer the first tribute of the Gentile world before the infant Son of Man. And they in their turn developed the doctrine, if we are right, from the child’s idea current among savage ancestors. Those who have read, however slightly, in the works of modern scholars who are reducing to scientific form the tangled tale of primitive custom and superstition, will perhaps be ready to accept this as one of the paths by which God brought to men the knowledge which is life. We have long ceased to be afraid of evolution in the physical world ; and if the Creator thus worked there, why not in the moral and spiritual world as well ? Among the follies, the superstitions, the barbarities of man in his childhood, a childhood blasted by the shadow of sin, we see the silver thread of a divine purpose which issues at last in the Redemption. We see how various elements of truth came to the nations, *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*, till Truth became incarnate to correlate them all, ‘to bring together every joint and member, and mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection.’ And when that work is complete, ‘in that day shall Jehovah be one, and His revelation one.’

¹ I have endeavoured to trace some further examples in an article in the *London Quarterly Review* for April, 1902.

V

TREASURES OF EGYPT¹

IN a tattered rag of papyrus, bearing the words 'Jesus saith,' Drs. Grenfell and Hunt have a second time recovered for us greater riches than the treasures of Egypt which their indefatigable labours have brought to light. The present goodly volume, from which is excerpted a shilling pamphlet, contains a mass of highly interesting matter in the two hundred and thirty-six pages of texts and notes which follow the twenty-eight devoted to the 'Sayings of Jesus' and the fragment from a lost Gospel. A much larger proportion than usual appeals to the enthusiast for classics. There is a girls' chorus by the incomparable Pindar, and a new fragment of Livy in epitome, which is already exercising the historians. But though the papyrus finds of the past dozen years have undeniably given us literary works of no small value, no one would claim that we have secured another Fourth Pythian or another oration 'On the Crown.' The New Testament student, opening these volumes of papyri, has the bad taste to skip the 'New Classical Fragments' and the new MSS. of Homer, and turn to letters, receipts, petitions, and wills, written often by illiterate persons, and generally devoid of any particular interest of subject-matter. He knows now, thanks to Professor Deissmann's pioneer *Bible Studies*, that in this rough Greek vernacular he has at last got the very language

¹ The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV., by B. P. Grenfell, Litt.D., and A. S. Hunt, Litt.D. (Egypt Exploration Fund.)

of the apostles, whose grammar and phraseology can often be interpreted from these sources when literature early and late has been ransacked in vain.

Let me illustrate from this volume, which is, however, by far the poorest of all in this particular respect—so poor that a first reading has not disclosed a single wholly novel parallel of importance to help our New Testament studies. A claim of ownership, written in A.D. 97, states that the property of the writer's father had 'come' to himself and his brother and sister. Now this colourless word 'come' has turned up in a score of papyri to express the 'descent' of property to an heir; and the fact, only lately observed, brings a wealth of new meaning into 1 Cor. x. 11, which Tennyson little thought he was quoting when he wrote 'We, the heirs of all the ages.' Then I notice two more examples in this book of the adjective which the A.V. so queerly translated 'the *sincere* milk of the word.' In the second century lease we find wine described as 'new and unadulterated,' and in a loan made in the first century B.C. we have the adjective applied to wheat, as very often elsewhere. There can be little question that in 1 Pet. ii. 2 'pure milk' means just what it would mean in a placard in a dairyman's window, the other epithet telling us that it is 'spiritual "pure milk."' These will serve as average specimens of a kind of new light which every new collection of papyri throws on Scripture, to a greater extent as its contents are less literary.

I shall not be able to resist the temptation of dwelling on the 'Sayings' and the new Gospel fragment, on which there is sure to be an immense literature ere long. But let me first chronicle other contents of this volume which interest the student of Christianity. The *libellus* from the

Decian persecution (No. 658) is the third document of the kind now published, and follows much the same formula as its predecessors. We look at Long's famous picture and reflect that if the girl there yielded to her pleading lover and poured the libation to the goddess, her choice of Diana instead of Christ would have been formally certified in a document like that which the Oxford explorers have handled and copied here: 'To the superintendents of offerings and sacrifices at the city, from Aurelius (. . . .) thion, son of Theodorus and Pantonymis, of the said city. It has ever been my custom to make sacrifices and libations to the gods, and now also I have in your presence in accordance with the command poured libations and sacrificed and tasted the offerings, together with my son Aurelius Dioscorus and my daughter Aurelia Lais. I therefore request you to certify my statement. (Date—1st year of Decius, A.D. 250.)' So does the suspect clear himself, and fall back into the religion whose typical fruits may be seen in the matter-of-fact letter (No. 744, B.C. 1) containing the line, 'If you bear offspring, if it be a male, let it be; if it be a female, expose it.'

Two or three other theological fragments must be mentioned. No. 656, four leaves from the LXX of Genesis, gives us 'one of the most ancient Greek theological books so far known.' It is from the early part of the third century, and has the great advantage of coming from parts where most of the great uncials fail us. Incomparably more important, however, is No. 657, a fourth-century papyrus of Heb. ii. 9-v. 5, x. 8-21, x. 29-xi. 13, xi. 28-xii. 17, with a good many of the lines fragmentary. The MS. is probably older than the Vaticanus itself, and its general agreement with that great MS. in its common section is of

special value in that (except in the first portion) it comes in where the latter has failed. The early papyri of the New Testament have hitherto been tantalizing because of their fragmentary character and the textually unimportant places at which they came in. This Hebrews MS. is of real importance, and (like the rest in their small way) it supports the Westcott-Hort text essentially. The few remaining partisans of the 'Received Text' have not yet discovered their consolation. I am particularly glad to find the MS. back up the R.V. in iv. 2 ('because they were not united by faith') and xii. 3 ('sinners against themselves'). In one place (xi. 4) Westcott and Hort ventured to prefer a small change, which was against all the MSS., on the authority of Clement alone. Now our MS. comes in to confirm their judgement. In xi. 35 the best MSS. have united in a small slip ('they received women'), and we have now another to add to the company. It is a remarkable testimony to the accuracy of our oldest copies that they should so faithfully preserve manifest blunders (in the autograph?) like this. Finally we have in an appendix a revised text of No. 405, in which Dean Armitage Robinson brilliantly identified a fragment from Irenaeus in the lost Greek original. It contains a quotation from Matt. iii. 16-17, according to the text found in the Codex Bezae. Evidences are multiplying that the so-called 'Western' text is in reality the current text of the second century. Was the text of the first century nearer to this or to Codex Vaticanus? There is the problem of problems for textual criticism.

And now let us return to the 'Sayings' and the new Gospel fragment. We will take the latter first. It contains a few lines of an early second-century book, the first part

repeating with great freedom the substance of Matt. vi. 25, 28, 27, 31-3, and Luke xii. 22-5, 29-31, and an uncanonical saying being added, parallel in sense with a well-known agraphon preserved by Clement of Alexandria. The concluding lines answer to Luke xi. 52, but they mostly consist of restorations by conjecture; yet even among the fragments we find a word characteristic of the Bezan text. To understand the connexion better, we may present the whole passage, with the language of the R.V. wherever the Greek coincides: '[Be not anxious f]rom morning till late nor from eve[n]ing till mo[r]ning, neither [for y]our [food] what ye shall ea[t, nor] for [your] ro[b]ing what ye [shall] put on. [F]ar be[tt]er [ye are] than the [lil]ies, the whi[ch] g]row but s[pi]n not. Havi[ng] one [g]ar[m]ent what do ye [lack?], even ye? Who would add to your stature? He Hims[elf w]ill give you your garment. His disciples say unto Him, When wilt Thou be manifest (cf. John xiv. 22) to us, and when shall we see Thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not ashamed. . . . ' This last saying is given by Clement in a more elaborate form: 'When ye shall have trampled on the garment of shame, and when the two shall have become one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' Combining Gen. ii. 25 with Luke xx. 35-6, we can take in this picture of Paradise Regained. It will be noticed that if the restorations (roughly indicated by the brackets above) are correct, there is a fair sequence for the uncanonical saying, which follows upon a verse conveying the sense of Matt. vi. 30, taken mystically, like 1 Cor. xv. 53. I am tempted to recall 2 Cor. v. 3, 4 and Rev. iii. 18, which may betray a reference to this saying. If the saying is genuine—and I see no sufficient reason to doubt it—we must assume it

current in at least two Greek forms, due to the variety of independent translations from the Aramaic, attested by Papias for St. Matthew's 'oracles.'

And so to the new Logia, with the initial remark that their preface definitely rejects the title Logia ('oracles') in favour of Logoi ('words'), which should, of course, be also attached to the 1897 collection. Postponing the preface for later consideration, we read the first saying: '[Jesus saith,] Let not the see[ker] cease [. . . till] he has found, and when he has found [he shall be amazed, and having been am]azed he shall reign, an[d having reigned he shall res]t.' The supplements here are made certain (except the gap in the first line) by the quotation of this saying by Clement, who assigns it to the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews.' The editor's translation 'reach the kingdom' obliterates the identity of phrase with Rev. xx. 6, xxii. 5, v. 10, 2 Tim. ii. 12. ('Come to the throne' would be the most precise rendering.) I strongly suspect that these allusions spring from the same source in a saying of Christ such as we have here; and that 1 Cor. iv. 8 is based upon the same. 'Reigning' and 'resting' (Heb. iv.) are less novel than the 'amazement' which comes in so strikingly here. The verb is one which in Mark i. 27, x. 24, and Luke iv. 36 is used of the effect that followed the words of Christ. Wonder—Power—Peace: such are the successive rewards of him who has sought and found. There is an originality about the thought which makes its genuineness almost undeniable. One recalls for the first part the splendid saying of Plato about Iris being the daughter of Thaumas—the messenger of Heaven, goddess of Philosophy, owing her birth to Wonder.

The second saying is long, and the breaking off vertically

of half the column makes it depend on conjectural restoration. An American scholar contributes to the *Athenaeum* for July 2 an acute reference to Job xii. 7-9, which seems to help the editors' restoration against that of Dr. Vernon Bartlet, which they quote. We might add Ps. viii. 8. I should venture to paraphrase thus: 'Jesus saith, Who draw us [read *you*] into the kingdom if that kingdom is in heaven, far away from the world in which God has established man's sovereignty? The birds of the heaven and the fish of the sea have been subjected to man, and they draw you into the knowledge of your destiny. The kingdom of heaven is within you, not away beyond the sky. Whoever comes to know himself will find it. If you come to know yourselves, you will understand the royal dignity of the sons of the Father.' If this reading is correct—and I think some such thread is necessary to bring the two halves together—we understand the Kingdom as the restoration of the royal right of man, regained in Christ as his Head. It is the basis of the great argument of Heb. ii. 5-9, the common element in which with 1 Cor. xv. 27 is most naturally explained by the dependence of both Paul and Priscilla (may we now so name the great unknown?) upon a recognized saying of the Master.

The other three sayings must not detain us. The third contains the substance of Mark x. 31, following half lines with 'a man shall not hesitate' 'to inquire' 'concerning the place'; it seems as if the saying about the last and the first is in a context rather like Mark ix. 34, 35. The fourth is Mark iv. 22 and its parallels, but freely altered. The substitution of 'buried' for the second synonym of 'hid' is a decided gain. The interest of the fifth, which is too fragmentary to restore after the opening,

lies in its introduction: 'His disciples inquire of Him [John xxi. 12] and say, How shall we fast?' There are other questions, and the Lord's answer to the whole. These sayings, then, were not necessarily void of context, like the first series from Oxyrhynchus, but on occasion included the question or circumstances which evoked them.

I am assuming that those who are interested enough to get so far will have already invested a shilling in Dis. Grenfell and Hunt's pamphlet, and I shall, therefore, not repeat what they say about the saying as a whole. The Johannine features are very significant, especially that in the preface: 'Every one that heareth these sayings shall never taste of death.' I have nothing to add here, and must only emphasize one point more. We have seen how two of these sayings may well have been in the minds of St. Paul and other New Testament writers. Even a cursory study of the uncanonical sayings of Jesus reveals evidence that the apostles were often quoting where we have assumed that they wrote what was only their own. 'Hold fast that which is good' is attested by Clement as a saying of Christ. 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you, and quench not the light which shone in you' comes as a 'warning of the Lord' from a Latin writer. 'Love covereth a multitude of sins' is another, due to Clement. 'For the sake of the weak I was weak, and for the sake of the hungry I hungered, and for the sake of the thirsty I thirsted' may well supply the motive of 1 Cor. ix. 22, and be echoed in 2 Cor. viii. 9. These will serve as examples, which could be largely multiplied, to show how many sayings of the Master are buried in the Epistles. A collection like the (probably extensive) collections from which the two Oxyrhynchus fragments

come would be made at an early time ; its very informality as a help to the memory would secure its being written before any set treatise like our Gospels would be thought of. Such a collection in the hands of St. Paul and other New Testament writers would account for the phenomena better, perhaps, than any other medium. Whether this collection was that which St. Matthew compiled in Aramaic, we can hardly say ; but it seems to me no sufficient objection that our first and third Gospels have not used all the material contained in it. Those who lived in the early days were constantly meeting witnesses who could add to their collection of the Lord's words ; and if St. Matthew's book was anything like the Oxyrhynchus Logia, it would be current in as many editions as there were churches, and (as Papias suggests) independently translated in various places. It was not till the eye-witnesses had passed away that our Gospels were compiled out of the mass of material to which St. Luke's first words and St. John's last bear eloquent testimony. For another century or two we see floating scraps from this tradition. The problem of the so-called ' Western Text ' is itself evidence of the unsettled state of the gospel tradition in days when so much survived from the first age, which had not been incorporated in the Church's authoritative documents. That much precious treasure ultimately sank, to be dredged up as it were in small fragments by seekers of a distant time, is an inevitable result of the human conditions under which the Divine Book was given. The more we recognize the problems which beset the Book, the more shall we realize the divinity which shines unquenchably through its human setting. Gathered together in scattered fragments, imperfectly arranged, translated, no one knows how adequately nor by whose

hand, from Aramaic into Greek, and translated again into English inaccurately enough till near the end of the nineteenth century, the words of Jesus still have been 'spirit and life' to a world which they have transformed.

VI

AN OPEN LETTER TO BRITISH SOLDIERS ON THE BIBLE

MANY of you are asking to-day on what grounds you are expected to believe in the Bible. There were days when even to ask such a question was thought impious. A statement came from the Bible. It was therefore infallible. Now you want to know why that follows. You are not hostile or captious, but you want to understand. I think you are quite right, and that a mere blind belief without any reason behind it is no tribute to the Bible, and altogether unworthy of yourselves. Let me try to give you some reasons.

In India you hear a great deal of other 'sacred books.' The Hindus have their Vedas, the Parsis their Avesta, the Mohammedans their Koran, and so on. These people claim for their books authority much like that we claim for the Bible. Does not this fact make us ask nervously whether we have any right to put our Book on so much higher a plane than theirs? Well, there is one obvious road towards an answer. *Read them*—if you can! Most of them can be read in English which is quite near enough the meaning to enable you to judge for yourselves. You will find good things scattered about them, and in between the good things pages and pages of stuff that will make you wonder what on earth made people write it or sustains other people in reading it. And then when you turn to your Bible

you will not be troubled any more with the suggestion that you ought to make very impartial comparisons.

Perhaps the next consideration, when we ask why we should attend to the Bible, may be based on its influence in the world. The most important parts of it have been translated into nearly seven hundred languages; and in all the languages spoken by great masses of people the whole Bible is published, mostly by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which circulates many millions of copies throughout the world every year. What about other books? Well, there is *one* book that has been translated into rather more than one hundred languages. It is Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*! There is another book which is somewhere between fifty and a hundred, Thomas à Kempis on *The Imitation of Christ*. Where are the other 'sacred books,' those of non-Christian religions? Where are the world's great classics? It is a triumph for them if they run into the third dozen.

And what about the results of reading? If we examine what has come of each of these translation enterprises—which have cost an astonishing outlay in brains and devotion—we shall find that everywhere human lives have been transformed by them, often on a very large scale. The Book has turned cannibals and savages into civilized people. Crime and cruelties have vanished before it. There is no parallel to this anywhere. It seems reasonable to claim very special respect and attention to a Book which has had incomparably more influence on the world than all other books put together, and has exercised that influence for the bettering of humanity in ways that establish for it a place perfectly unique in all literature.

You will notice that I have said nothing of any super-

natural claim. I have been asking you simply to judge the tree by its fruits. Christianity has always declared that the Book is 'inspired,' results from the direct agency of God in its writing. Now we may well believe that every good book is in a sense inspired. If we believe in God at all, it is only reasonable to think that He helps us towards everything true and good that we ever attain. The Christian claim for the Bible is that it is inspired in a far higher and quite special sense. The best thing for us to say about that claim at present is that it is a theory formed to account for facts and primarily the facts we have been sketching, those of the unique influence of the Book in the world, which is greater now than ever and still manifestly growing. We clearly need some theory to account for such facts. Why should a succession of Israelites, scattered over a period of a thousand years, be able to produce a library of classics, characterized by wonderful unity of spirit and purpose, endowed with religious influence, outclassing everything else that human genius has achieved? Why should a dozen or so of them, with one Gentile doctor among them, succeed in building up within half a century a little collection of independent masterpieces which instantly began to spread through the Roman Empire, and in less than three hundred years conquered the old religion and established its new revelation as dominant in the West? There is a power behind it all that no ordinary explanations will account for. Our theory is that God is there in some very special way. We can see that the power of the New Testament—we will come to the Old presently—is bound up altogether with the personality of Jesus of Nazareth. The Book's unity depends on Him, and its miraculous influence in the world is His influence entirely. To account for this again we have

a theory. It is that in that Man, God came into human life in a new and perfect way. That Jesus was human, with every feature of our own humanity except our faults, but was at the same time God, is our explanation of the fact that He has done, and is still doing, for mankind what no one man and no combination of men have ever in the smallest degree rivalled.

This theory, accounting for the observed facts by the recognition of God Himself in the historical figure of Jesus, may be treated just as men of science treat their hypotheses. Invented originally to explain facts, they are tested successively by new facts, and ruthlessly thrown aside as soon as facts emerge which will not square with them. The Deity of Jesus, carrying with it something unique in the inspiration of the Book that portrays Him, explains all the facts we know. As new facts arise, we examine their relation to that great theory. Sometimes there has been difficulty, and hasty people have thought the theory must go. But so far the progress of thought has shown that the theory becomes more and more firmly established as each new set of facts is assimilated.

Of these new facts the most important for our purpose are those relating to the history of the Bible itself. During the last two or three generations men have broken away from the old unquestioning faith in tradition. They have found it impossible to refuse the right of applying to the Bible processes of inquiry which are applied everywhere else. The Bible says God made the world in six days. Science wants millions of years. The Bible comes in contact with external history, and sometimes contradicts, or seems to contradict, the records on which historians rely. Does our belief in the Bible require us to say, 'So much the

worse for the records'? Tradition tells us that the first five books of the Bible were written by Moses, and the first and fourth Gospels by apostles named Matthew and John. Are we allowed to examine these statements, and set them aside if we find evidence is against them?

Now, of course, there are a great many good Christians who will not allow either natural science or history, or what we call literary criticism, to have any say at all against their interpretation of what the Bible says. I must leave them to defend themselves in their own way. For myself, I cannot believe that the Bible has anything to lose by welcoming all these sciences and any results they can make probable. What is the sphere in which the Bible has exercised its amazing influence over the world? That of life and conduct. It has taught men what is just and right, and has offered them in Christ a secret of power by which right living is made possible, and the doing of permanent good among their fellow men. Why should God intervene to tell us how long the world took in making? To tell us that He made it is clearly important, from a religious point of view. But why should He tell us how, when He has given us brains by which we may find out interesting things like this for ourselves? Why should He work a miracle to ensure our knowing the dates of kings of Assyria? Mark says blind Bartimaeus was healed when they came out of Jericho; Luke, that it happened before they entered the town. What difference does it make to my religion if one of the two made a small slip? Or again, how does it affect the religious value of the later parts of Isaiah, or of most of the Psalms, or of the Epistle to the Hebrews, if we find that we do not know their authors' names?

God might, of course, have given us a literally divine Book,

written by His finger on tables of stone. We find He chose to give us instead a library of books by human authors, with very different styles and characteristics. I cannot help connecting it with the equally obvious fact that He did not reveal Himself by an angel, or millions of angels, but in a Man who worked in a carpenter's shop. I think I can see a great many reasons why that was the better way. Even if I could not, the plain fact that God chose that way ought to be enough for me. Meanwhile nothing that the most fearless scientific inquiry has ever proved about the Bible can alter the fact that when we read it it helps us as nothing else does, and that it has helped millions in every age. Obeying its laws, we know we should be happier and better men, and that a world which kept those laws would be an infinitely better one to live in than that which we see. While the Bible goes on helping and comforting and elevating men as it does, we surely are not going to be troubled because God has let it come to us with marks of its human conditions upon it? The marks of its divine origin are too obvious for these signs of humanity to disturb them. They only show us that the Book really speaks in a language we can understand.

I said I would return to the Old Testament, in which as soon as you study frankly you are sure to see difficulties. Suppose you start by regarding it as the religious classics of the people of Israel, the books which they read as representative of their life and thought and history. Then remember that Jesus was a Jew, and His first preachers were Jews. The Old Testament, then, gives us the necessary background for understanding Him and them. Not everything in the Book remains permanently true. Jesus Himself tells us that Moses gave a temporary command-

ment, the best possible under the circumstances, but not the ideal and final will of God. He prepared His own new laws with, ' You have heard that it was said to them of old time . . . but I say to you . . . ' The Old Testament represents the gradual process of training by which a nation was made fit for missionary work to the world. It is incomparably superior to other sacred books as a system of right conduct, a manual of devotion, and an exposition of the presence of God in history. But it finds its interpretation and its importance in the New. All that we read in Old or New Testament depends for its value upon its relation to Christ. If we read the Bible and fail to find Him there as our Friend, our King, and our Saviour, we have missed all that the Book really means. If we do find Him, it has achieved its supreme purpose, and we shall be very little troubled by difficulties that are left there to test the genuineness of our trust and loyalty. We cannot expect to understand everything here ; if all Truth came to us ready-made, we should gain little from it. The Bible shows us the way to a world where all these things will be cleared up, and all tasks and problems will be new.

Your friend and fellow inquirer,

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

ADDRESSES

I

RAISING STONES AND CLEAVING WOOD¹

Whoso moveth stones shall be hurt therewith ; and he that cleaveth wood is endangered thereby.—ECCLES. x. 9 (R.V. margin).

THERE hardly seems much probability of our getting what is either interesting or useful out of the commonplace-sounding maxim I have just read. The verse is not one that strikes us ; it has neither the poetry nor the pathos which so irresistibly fascinate the reader who lingers over the half-despairing pages of Ecclesiastes. The precise meaning of the maxim is not quite clear. The translation, to begin with, is in one small respect doubtful. Are we to read 'Whoso *heweth out* stones' or 'Whoso *moveth* stones' ? The former is the revisers' reading, but they put the latter in their margin, and it was the reading of the Septuagint, the old Greek translation, which was always used by the Jews outside Palestine in our Lord's day. In the one case we are told that the quarryman must fear the flying splinters of stone ; in the other that the labourer who lifts a heavy piece of rock may crush his foot if he lets it fall. Obviously, however, this difference will not greatly affect the general sense. This has been variously read. Some think the stone is part of a cairn that marks a neigh-

¹ Preached at the Leys School, September 26, 1897.

bour's property, which a man tries to move. The tree likewise belongs to a neighbour; and the teaching is that one who commits acts of aggression upon the property of others will receive his punishment out of the acts themselves. Others find a political reference. The reformer is likely, as we should put it, to bring a hornet's nest about his ears. He tries to move stones, to remove ancient grievances, or to cut down trees—the upas-trees of hoary abuses—and finds, as reformers always have and always will find, that ancient and deep-seated evils have a deadly power of striking at those who dare to meddle with them. Or, again—and this, the simplest explanation, seems to me at least as likely as any other—the cynical author who has found vanity of vanities in every successive sphere of human life observes in these homely words that ordinary honest labour must pay its due of misfortune in this sad world: one cannot quarry stones to build one's house, or cut logs to make up one's fire, without risking the misfortune which a cruel fate seems to bring alike on the evil and the good. This interpretation fits in well with the preacher's view of life. That view is not indeed one of absolute and unrelieved pessimism; there is still one refuge left for the man who has found satisfaction nowhere. But none the less is it clear that the author of this strange book was wont to see the dark side of every human experience; and the glimmer of light from the day which, unknown to him, was to rise, perhaps within two centuries of his own time, gave him only the power to see the greatest and plainest of duties, and therein, with sad and doubting steps, to travel on towards the dawn.

And here, had I been speaking from this text three¹

¹ See date above.

months ago—which, indeed, is most unlikely—I should have found it almost inevitable to turn away and look for something more likely to help us than this weeping philosopher's maxim. But there may be some here to whom a text which speaks of raising stones and cleaving wood suggests a new connexion of thought of startling significance. That little rag of papyrus, just the size of a half-sheet of notepaper, which the two Oxford explorers picked up out of a rubbish-heap of ancient Egypt a few months ago, and published in July, contains words which invest our text with a profound and practical interest. One of the seven sayings on this little sheet, introduced, like the rest, by the words 'Jesus saith,' runs thus: 'Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood, and there am I.' The words are the second sentence in the saying to which it belongs; but the sentence which precedes is partly obliterated, and we can only tell that it gives us in some form a thought like that of the familiar words, 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' I do not remember who first compared the obscure text in Ecclesiastes, but once suggested it must be felt to supply the key to the difficult words which the old papyrus gives us as coming from Christ Himself. That He really uttered the sayings ascribed to Him in this fragment I cannot doubt for a moment. They are all in complete accord with His teaching, and they have just that vivid, brief, pictorial, parabolic style which no one ever could imitate, and which we must instinctively recognize as coming to us from the lips of Him who spake as never man spake. And when we think of those three years which were so crowded with teaching, whereof a mere fraction is preserved for us in the Gospels, and think, more-

over, how many thousands heard the great Teacher speak, and passed on to their children and grandchildren the well-remembered sayings which fastened on their memory, our wonder must surely be that so few traditional words of Jesus have come down to us. Had all the discourses of those marvellous years been written down, as the beloved disciple truly says, the world itself could not contain the books that would be written. We are left to be thankful that what has been written is enough, abundantly enough, to show us the way to everlasting life. Meanwhile the study of these newly found fragments of His teaching, showing at every step how much patient thought is needed to reveal to us their meaning, will help us to realize that the old familiar words of Jesus, which we fancy we understand perfectly, have unknown depths in them, waiting to reward us when we earnestly seek their message. We may read the words of Jesus over and over again, till they lose their freshness and we forget altogether that they speak *to us* at all ; but we may also read them over again and again, only to find that those we know best have something new to tell us every time we come with a heart prepared to sit at the Master's feet and ask Him what He would have us to do. Those who come to their Bibles this term in such a spirit will certainly find that the Book can help them everywhere—on Sundays and on week-days—at arithmetic or at football ; and that in everything alike the presence of its teaching will make them better, stronger, happier, and more useful.

Let us come back, then, to our text and the new-found saying of Jesus which seems to refer to it. You remember how in the Sermon on the Mount Jesus takes up, one after another, the leading commandments of the old covenant

and of the teachers who professed to carry on the spirit of the law of Moses, and showed how these commandments must be extended and spiritualized, or even repealed altogether, by the new laws of the kingdom of heaven. It is natural for us to conjecture that the new saying was introduced in much the same way. 'Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time' (we may suppose Him saying), 'He that moveth stones shall be hurt therewith, and he that cleaveth wood is endangered thereby. But I say unto you, Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find *Me*; cleave the wood, and there am *I*.' There was no Old Testament Book which needed the corrective of Christ's teaching so much as Ecclesiastes. Ecclesiastes showed that we must do right, though we cannot expect joy in doing it, if only because doing wrong and seeking mere pleasure bring far greater sorrow. Christ came to teach that in His right hand were pleasures for evermore. He came to join in every kind of innocent enjoyment, to teach men that the Father in heaven rejoiced in His children's joy. He lifted stones and cleft wood in the builder's workshop at Nazareth for more than twenty years out of His short life, to show that honest toil brought something else besides danger—that the stone could become a Bethel, and the wood an altar which raiseth the consecrated soul

Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee.

What, then, do these words of Christ promise us when we come to them seeking light upon our path for this new term? Ecclesiastes might remind us that he who plays up hard in a match may be hurt therewith, and he who works hard for an examination may only get brain-fever:

Jesus tells us that though such dangers may be, there is a reward in both kinds of effort which puts the danger in the shade. For he who does his very best, whether at work or at play, in the honest desire to use well the powers of body or mind which God has given him, shall find Christ in that effort, and find with him a joy that passeth understanding. I have known fellows at this school who could brace themselves for a good run by the moment's prayer which told them that their Lord was looking on, or fix their energies on a problem by calling on a help from above which is ready for *every* kind of need. Boys or men who have that resource have a religion which is neither ostentatious nor goody-goody; they are the sort to make every one about them feel that while other fellows may be nice enough companions in ordinary life, *they* are the most helpful and kind in trouble great or small, *they* are most certain to rely on when help and sympathy are wanted. And when I call on you to make these words of Christ a motto for daily life this term, I am reminding you where you may find the secret of happiness and of courage, the possession of which will enable you to look back without regrets on each term at its close, and which, when boyhood and early manhood and middle life have passed away, will save you from ever entering on years whereof you will say, 'I have no pleasure in them.' And when death comes—perhaps suddenly, as it came to one Old Leysian last term, at the very outset of what promised to be a brilliant and useful career—those who sadly raise the stone which is to cover your dust until the resurrection morning will find that Christ is even *there*.

Will you listen a moment longer as I ask you all, not for my sake, but for your own, to hear, to think of, and to act

upon the words I have brought before you to-night? They are not *my* words. If you were Brahmins or Confucians, born in some place where Christ's name had never been heard, you would listen eagerly when told for the first time that the Creator of all things had spoken to you to show where He can be found. But because you are Christians by birth and education, because you have heard this message from Sunday to Sunday for years, expressed in vivid and striking words by one preacher or in what you thought dull and commonplace by another, you will, many of you, pay no heed, and treat it as an old, old tale. You will be ready, perhaps, to criticize the preacher if he says something that tickles your easy sense of humour, or if he spends more than twenty-five minutes in bringing before you what will make all the difference between happiness and misery for you in this life and the life to come. But the fowls of the air will be waiting to snatch away the seed as soon as ever you have gone out from the place where you have dimly felt that the divine Sower was trying to make Himself known. The first joke that falls on your ear at the supper-table or in dormitory will perhaps drive away any serious thought you have had during service, and next Sunday you will be a little less ready to listen when God speaks. And yet the words of God are just as true whether you hear them for the first time or the five-hundredth. The preacher may have God knows how many faults—and you cannot possibly find more faults with him than he can find with himself—but he is telling you God's truth all the same; and if any one of you should fail to give earnest heed to the things you have heard, and should drift away from them down the rapids into the great and stormy deep, it will make no difference to you whether the warning voice

you heard was eloquent or halting. So listen, in God's name. Learn even now that you may find Christ if you *seek* Him : and if you find Him, you find heaven below. But such a prize can never be won without effort. Christ will not show Himself to those who are not willing to make a resolve and stick to it, to feeble and nerveless creatures who will not let Him make them strong. And there are a good many who seem to others strong enough, but who are not manly enough to become Christians. They are strong and brave enough to bully boys younger or weaker than themselves, clever enough to wield a tongue which can make miserable fellows who are less coarse-grained ; but of moral courage and real manliness they have not a trace. Such can only come to Christ when they are willing to let Him conquer them, so as to be ready to face the gibes and sneers of others for His sake. *Then* true life will begin for them, and they will find what great things Christ has for them to do. So let us all resolve to exercise ourselves unto godliness ; to submit ourselves to the great Teacher, that He may make us strong of soul, even as in our work and games at school we train ourselves to be strong in mind and body. Many of you will remember the fine old Greek story of Theseus, sent by his mother year after year to the task which proved too much for boyish strength. Year after year he tried in vain ; went back and trained himself by unresting effort ; and at last, when his eighteenth year came, he went again to the moss-grown stone in the thicket, tugged at it, and it moved. Then his spirit swelled within him, and he said, ' If I break my heart in my body, it shall up.' And he tugged at it once more, and lifted it, and rolled it over with a shout, to find beneath it the golden sword and sandals by which he was to make himself known to his

father far away. And this is a parable. Your task lies before you this term, and Christ your Master bids you train yourself, body, mind, and soul, to accomplish it. And to those who with a manly ambition go forth to do the work, with a strong purpose filling all their soul within them, Christ says, 'Raise the stone, and ye shall find Me.' Even so may we find Thee, O Master! Amen.

NOTE.

There has, of course, been plenty of literature on the 'Sayings' since September, and I can hardly print this sermon in its original form without a postscript. The results of criticism on the fragments are very conveniently given by Professors Lock and Sanday of Oxford, in two lectures delivered on October 23, and since published by the Clarendon Press. This saying now appears with its first part filled up by ingenious conjectures, thus: 'Jesus saith, Wheresoever there are two, they are not without God, and if anywhere there is one alone, I say I am with him: raise the stone,' &c. How much of this is conjecture might be illustrated by writing thus the fragmentary data: ' th . . . resoever there are a godless, and . . anywh . . . there is o . . alone, I s . . I am with hi . . ' Obviously we cannot expect certainty for such a text, but as restored above it fits in very well with the general sense I have given to the sentence which follows. I do not feel convinced by Dr. Lock's objections to the connexion with Ecclesiastes x. 9, which was suggested simultaneously by Professor Swete at Cambridge and Dr. Lisso at Berlin. That the words do not follow the Septuagint is not serious; and the form of the sentence, 'Raise yonder stone; cleave yonder log,' seems to appropriate the words of Ecclesiastes and add greater vividness. We are reminded of the plausible supposition that Jesus pointed to the sower in the field before Him as He began the parable from the boat: the use of the particular instead of the general is quite after His manner. Further, I do not see why the various interpretations are all necessarily *alternatives*. Why cannot the saying express at once the presence

of Christ with the toiler and His immanence in nature, together with the reminder that there must be effort to find Him?

I have seen the value of the sayings questioned because they add nothing to our knowledge of Christ's teaching. Is not that a reason for accepting them as genuine? I doubt whether a single separate doctrine of Christ is based upon *one* text of our canonical Gospels. The new sayings are, I still believe, absolutely consistent with the teaching which we have attested by the Gospels: did they contain anything for which we could not quote a parallel, we should inevitably have to examine more rigidly the external attestation of the new fragment.

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In this form my sermon waited through a busy week for the Sunday, February 6, on which it had been promised revision by a master-hand, the hand which for many years had criticized so lovingly almost all I ever wrote. Sadly I send back the proof as it stands, without the heart or the time to search for later lights. But there is upon my words the precious light of experience. We *have* lifted the stone that covers a loved and loving face until the resurrection morn, and have found that Christ is there!

February, 1898.

J. H. M.

II

A NEGLECTED SACRAMENT¹

If I then, the Lord and the Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet.—JOHN xiii. 14.

FEW passages of New Testament Scripture are more closely linked for me with my father's memory than the narrative I ask you to study with me to-night. It calls up vividly the old library at The Leys, with two or three candles shedding a dim religious light on thousands of well-loved books, while a hushed and reverent voice seemed to think aloud through the words of St. John, each phrase taken up with loving minuteness as the promised Spirit guided the worshipper into the Truth. So when I was asked to undertake the present responsibility by one whose wish is law in Methodist East Anglia, I was helped by his suggestion that I should take this subject, in which I could feel that to some extent I might echo the sound of a voice that is still, a voice which I know is not forgotten here. Those of my brethren who dislike the written sermon as much as I do myself will yet forgive me if on such an occasion I endeavour to guard my language in a way I should not follow before a general congregation.

The sun had set for the last time in the Lord's earthly life, and with His disciples He reclined at table in the upper room for the Paschal meal. Sixty years had passed away

¹ Preached before the East Anglia District Synod at Yarmouth, May 9, 1899, and published by its request.

before the beloved disciple wrote down the story of that evening. But time had not dulled John's memory; rather had perpetual meditation brought into relief the significance of every detail, till the whole course of the events stood out before him, and before us, his readers, with a startling and lifelike reality. With the intense insight which comes from love the apostle pictures for us the Master's mind as He came to that last interview with His own. He had loved them before with a love deep as Deity, but now that love seemed to rise to a climax as the hour came for its supreme manifestation. -But where the light is brightest, there the shadow is blackest; and the apostle who sees 'God Only-begotten' in that room, vested in the glory of His supreme self-sacrifice, sees also the hideous figure of the Evil One, and is permitted by revelation to read the thoughts of his heart just as he has read the thought of Jesus. The devil had already put it into his heart, his *own* heart—for so we should probably read verse 3—that Judas Iscariot should deliver Him up. There reclines the traitor apostle, once pure and devoted as any of them; but disappointed ambition has eaten into his soul till love and heaven have fled away. And in the shadows of that banqueting-chamber lurks Satan, seen alone by Him against whom he is plotting, and looks around for the tool he needs for the winning of his triumph. The devil, for all his cunning, knew not that his triumph was only God's way of scourging him back to hell.

We turn to St. Luke's Gospel for some light on what St. John is now about to describe. There arose—most probably at an earlier period of the supper—a contention among them, which of them is accounted to be the greatest. On three other occasions this strife for precedence is recorded, and we cannot help being astonished to find that

in each case the Saviour has been speaking of His Passion. We seem compelled to find some explanation of such ill-timed and apparently heartless strife. We know that they 'understood not' these sayings of His, 'and were afraid to ask Him.' May we not imagine them speaking among themselves after some such manner as this? 'What *does* He mean? Dark sayings once more—shall we ever understand? He speaks of drawing all men to Himself; He speaks of treachery, death, rising again. But the Christ abideth for ever. And what place less than a throne can *He* hold? Is He not speaking after His wont in parables which in this strange way conceal the near approach of His kingdom? Will He not very soon take His power and reign? Then which of us shall be nearest to Him, which His Prime Minister, which His Treasurer of State, which the leader of His victorious armies, as He goes forth to rule the world?' And so began the strife afresh. Let us not blame them till we are sure *we* have no ambitions! St. Luke records for us the Master's gentle words of rebuke; St. John tells how He declared in more eloquent action that He was in the midst of them as he that serveth. He gives us first one more of those wonderful glimpses into the Lord's mind, overwhelmingly full of His redeeming work. *Because* He was God, *because* all authority had been given to Him in heaven and on earth, *because* He came forth from God on His atoning mission, and was now returning with that mission accomplished, *therefore* He did the menial work of a slave! Divine paradox! Transfer the language to the petty dignities of this world. '*Because* he was King—Pope—President of the Conference—what you will—*therefore* he used to black the boots of his household.' Alas, my brethren, we cannot see why it should follow. But

He who was in the form of God and yet counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God—was He likely to count a mere human crown as a prize to grasp at? No, He emptied Himself of all attributes of divinity, save love which *is* divinity, and took on Him the form of a slave, did a slave's work and died a slave's death.

No wonder that the details of this wondrous service printed themselves indelibly on the disciple's mind. Silently and deliberately Jesus rises from the couch across which He was reclining, lays aside the ceremonial upper garment, winds a long towel round His waist, pours water into the basin which stood there for the purpose, and begins to wash the feet of the lowly company, who had no slaves to wait upon them thus. 'When Christ serves, He serves perfectly.' We have nothing to show with which of that shamefast, stupefied band He began. But if amazement struck the others dumb, amazement—or, for the matter of that, any emotion whatever—struck speech out of Peter, and he bursts out in a protest every word of which carries as much emphasis as words can—'*Lord ! dost Thou WASH my FEET !*' The promise of understanding afterwards is hardly listened to, and the protest becomes more vehement than ever. Then the Lord speaks again, 'If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me'—no share in My kingdom, nothing to do with My work. Peter does not understand yet, but he grasps that *somehow* this is to be a blessing to him, and that his refusal—like that awe-stricken 'Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord,' years ago—was sending away from him all that he loved in life. 'Lord ! not my feet only, but also my hands and my head !' And to the impulsive words the Lord grants a part explanation by completing the parable. He that is bathed, the ban-

queter who, after the usual custom, has taken the bath at home and arrayed himself to come through the dusty streets in sandalled feet, needs not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit ; ' and ye are clean—clean because of the word I have spoken unto you—but not all.' For He knew the man who was delivering Him up, therefore said He, ' Ye are not all clean.'

And what was the purpose of this astonishing action ? It was a lesson in humility, most people answer, and think they have solved the question. Yes, it *was* a lesson in humility. Nearly forty years later St. Peter himself uses it thus, when (1 Pet. v. 5) he says, ' Yea, all of you gird yourselves with humility '—as the Lord girt Himself with its symbol—' to serve one another.' The spirit of this side of the Lord's lesson is perfectly caught in Wesley's familiar words : ' Do not affect the gentleman. A preacher of the gospel is the servant of all. Be ashamed of nothing but sin ; no, not of cleaning your own shoes, when necessary.' Yes, the ' gentleman that is so indeed,' whom Oliver Cromwell declared that he ' honoured,' and whose ideal embodiment was John Wesley—nay, rather John Wesley's Master—cannot ' demean himself ' by humility. That may be safely left to those whose ideal of man is a tailor's model, and who bear with perpetual

abuse

The grand old name of gentleman,

Defamed by every charlatan

And soiled with all ignoble use.

But the beauty of humble service, the divineness of drudgery, the sublimity of true condescension—these are not the only, or even the chief, lessons of this great passage.

We have to explain verse 10 before we can get beyond the threshold of the Lord's meaning. The fact is that we are here confronted with a *sacrament*. And, if only we can get the right point of view, Sacraments are matters of profound importance, and we cannot neglect them with impunity. There is not much about this sacrament in the New Testament ; but, then, there is not much about the other two. We are nowadays exhorted to believe that the great truth of salvation by Sacraments must have been taught by the Risen Lord to His apostles in discourses which, by a really unpardonable obtuseness, they failed to record. It is, we must admit, deplorable that they should have been so taken up with trifles like the regulation of Christian faith and conduct as to omit the very name of sacrament from Scripture, and, of course, the needed definition as well. We are obliged, therefore, to fall back on uninspired definitions. I have read somewhere that a sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace ; and on this definition, joined with the requirement that it must have been instituted by our Lord, I find myself entirely unable to understand why the Feet-washing differs essentially from Baptism or the Lord's Supper. What do we understand by these ordinances, putting aside altogether the cobwebs of mediaeval and half-pagan superstition that have gathered around them ? I take it we interpret them in close connexion with Christ's constant habit of teaching by parables. ' Truth embodied in a tale ' entered in at humble doors, and was not soon forgotten. It exactly suits this principle of the great Teacher that He should instruct His followers in after ages to repeat two or three parables in action which should keep alive before their minds and hearts the most vital truths of His gospel. He instituted accord-

ingly a series of three mutually related operations, which carried out His favourite comparison of the kingdom of heaven to a banquet. The comparison fixes on the one thing which is absolutely necessary for our natural life, eating and drinking, the imperious requirement which ultimately dominates men's actions from the cradle to the grave. Christ would have all our meals, and most of all His meal, remind us that just as the body demands food and drink, so the soul demands sustenance ; we must feed on Him, or our souls will starve. And if Christ makes the surroundings of the banquet colour His parable, it is that all may realize how pleasant is His religion ; man's instinct calls for enjoyment as well as for sustenance, and Christ gives it him in abundance beyond thought. But preparation is needed, by a universal instinct, before the banqueter can partake of the meal. He bathes at home before he puts on his best clothes and goes forth to the house of entertainment. Prophets of the Old Covenant first sketched the simple parable by which the instinct of cleanliness was applied from body to the soul. Then the greatest of the prophets elevated this rite of immersion into a religious duty which was to bring home to defiled consciences and evil lives the need of a purging thorough as that which the body underwent when it plunged beneath the Jordan wave. Finally, Jesus Himself took up John's rite, and showed that it was much more than a rite. For, He declared, as though to make for ever impossible the idea that the water could save, that men must enter into a new life through baptism with a Holy Spirit, as well as with water, which was to be the figure of His purifying power.

And now we come to the last requisite. With his sandalled feet all unprotected from the city's swirling dust,

the banqueter sallied forth into the streets, and by the time he reached the host's dwelling the heat and dust together made his feet as though no washing had been undergone. So he that had been bathed needed to wash his feet, and was then clean every whit. Even so the man whose soul has been purged from the guilt and power of sin moves about among the pollutions of a world of sin, and the defilement cleaves as it were to the feet that tread life's dusty road. He has not returned from his bath to wallowing in the mire ; his heart is sound and pure by a living faith in Christ ; his sins are not wilful. But why should I summarize here John Wesley's sermon ' On Sin in Believers ' ? We know well enough that the regenerate and forgiven man has to say daily, ' Forgive me my debts, as I also forgave my debtors,' and that without thereby being conscious of a daily apostasy. What, then, is the divine provision for these sins ? The cleansing medium is, of course, the same as in the sacrament of Baptism. It was water in the bath and water in the basin ; even so it was the atoning Christ who purged the sinner at the first, and it is the atoning Christ who purges the defilements of the believer afterwards. But there is a change in the appointed mode of bringing the soul into contact with that which cleanses. The relation of the baptizer to the baptized symbolizes the fact that the sinner is first brought to Christ by one who has himself been forgiven. In the Feet-washing everything is *mutual*, and this is the essence of it. It is this feature which forces us to recognize it as an absolutely neglected sacrament. The form has apparently been kept up in various ways in different parts of the Church. The Roman practice may be taken as a type, as it generally may when we want an example of a form scrupulously preserved with the spirit

absolutely destroyed. When the Pope ceremonially washes the feet of those carefully selected beggars in St. Peter's, he is avowedly acting as in the person of the Lord Christ. Do you think St. Peter himself ever dared to do this? The apostles washed *one another's* feet, as they were bidden; but can we imagine any one of them daring to go round among his brethren and doing himself what the Master had done? A Church which thus provides a deputy for her Lord might seem eager to proclaim that she has banished from her the Master who promised He would never leave His own, but would be 'with them all the days, even unto the end of the world.'

Now if this Feet-washing is an acted parable ordained by Christ to be kept up by His Church—in other words, a sacrament—what are the consequences of neglecting it? It is surely plain that when the Lord Himself has selected means of bringing home truth to our hearts, we are not likely to be the gainers by adopting other means in preference. It is equally plain—speaking still of sacraments in general—that the teaching is more important than the form, and that those who exalt the form into a fetish are farther away from Christ's design than those who omit the form and cherish the teaching. 'It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing.' The saintly Romanist, receiving the bread and wine from a priest in the unquestioned 'succession'; the saintly Lord Halifax, receiving it from one who, as he protests, must be in that 'succession' *because* he himself has felt Christ's presence in taking the sacred emblems from his hands; and the saintly Salvationist receiving it from a 'Hallelujah Lass'—for all alike the sacrament is valid for precisely the same reason, and that is simply and solely the vivid realization of the

fact that the soul is feeding on Christ. And this realization must obviously be fostered by using the Master's own parable. Obviously, also, the use of the acted parable is not the only way of realizing the truth conveyed ; and if the devout Quaker, fearing the superstition which has gathered round the forms, prefers to let every bath he takes remind him of the washing of regeneration, and every meal recall his feeding on Christ, who will dare to unchurch him ? The whole of Christendom has agreed to ignore the rite of Feet-washing though prescribed by Christ in the same way, so that the Quakers do not stand alone. The question for Christendom must be, therefore, whether the rite is kept in spirit, as the Quaker keeps it and the acknowledged sacraments.

What, then, is the definite purpose of this rite ? We have seen that it may be expressed as *the duty of fellowship among believers for the conquest of daily sin*. Evidently, therefore, Methodism keeps the spirit of this ordinance in the very forefront of her organization. Just as we alone preserve the primitive parable of the Love-feast, so we keep up the Feet-washing in the class-meeting. If we were to symbolize the outward rite, as we symbolize immersion by affusion in baptism, we might make the class-meeting a perfect representation of the original sacrament by bringing in the form of a mutual hand-washing by the members. But the essence of the whole matter is that we do aim at putting this doctrine of fellowship in the prominent place assigned to it by Christ. We provide a perfectly wholesome means whereby the craving of the heart for brotherly help and encouragement may be met. How keen that craving is may be seen in the popularity of the confessional. That bastard sacrament destroys the all-important element of

mutual help and counsel between fellow believers, while it gratifies the very human lust of power, especially occult power, by giving the priest the function of Christ Himself. No wonder that the carnal mind should so often reassert itself in the man who tries to take divine functions, making the whole institution a byword for hideous evil!

But let us come back to ourselves. Does the class meeting fulfil our Master's purpose in instituting the sacrament of which we have tried to speak? Sometimes, perhaps, yes. Granted a leader of sympathy and insight and spiritual power, and members who are able within the company to speak out frankly their joys and sorrows, their temptations and their needs, for others to meet them with parallel experience that will help and encourage—it would be hard to imagine a more perfect instrument for the purpose. But let formality once creep in, let cut-and-dried experiences be related, which are not the real wants and inmost feelings of the heart, but merely made up with an idea of edification—then there is no relation at all between the class-meeting and the Feet-washing. And may I add one other point in which I feel the institution fails—if it is to be a requisite demanded by the Church from all her members? There is a large and increasing class among us to whom reticence on personal experience is as natural as free confidence is to others. Such Christians can talk over their deepest feelings in private with a friend who has won their trust, but they could never thus talk before others. In the class-meeting, therefore, they either say nothing or deliver sermonettes, which is not the purpose of the meeting; and great numbers of them are not members at all, because they do not find the class-meeting help them, and do not think it right to be nominally on a class-

book without any intention of attending. Is there not a real call to-day for us to go back to Wesley's purpose as a whole, and encourage Christian fellowship in more ways than one? If the pastors can themselves win the confidence of such members as I have described, or persuade them severally to meet *in band* with some other member who is intimate with them, the principle of fellowship is kept up as an essential, and a means of grace which had become an irksome form is restored to its usefulness and beauty. Only by some such action as this, I am convinced, can we regain for church membership, to our benefit and theirs alike, very many of our most thoughtful people.

But we must hasten back from the debatable ground of ecclesiastical constitution to the personal and practical teaching which remains untouched in the subject before us. It is a wonderfully beautiful picture that the Lord draws for us as the ideal of His Church on earth. It is a company of brothers, with whom the word is no mere form, who loyally love one another for the sake of the Lord whose presence they vividly feel. There is no strife or jealousy, and every one bears his brother's burden :

When mighty Love would cleave in twain
The lading of a single pain,
And part it, giving half to him,

and loyally, frankly, humbly, each tells his brother of his faults, expecting like correction in his turn ; nor is any one censorious in fault-finding, nor irritable in hearing of his own imperfections. A beautiful ideal indeed ; but as we look at it we ask where it has been realized, and where it *can* be realized save in heaven, where there will be no faults to amend ! Yet, however unrealized, it remains Christ's

ideal for us, and it is well for us to remember constantly that 'high failure overleaps the bounds of mean successes'; if we fail, we have reached a loftier and purer air by struggling upwards. We can each strive to understand our brethren, to breathe an atmosphere of gentleness and considerateness and love, and so to help others and gain help ourselves for cleansing from the defilements of the world through which we move. So, as the little child learns slowly yet surely the habit of cleanliness, we may hope to grow into the instinct of spiritual purity, till at last, poor sinners though we be, we have been made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.

'And ye are clean, *but not all.*' My brethren, can I close without remembering that the Master may be saying that *here*? As Judas reclined at the table of the Lord, and submitted without shame to the rite which typified the perfect cleansing of one who was cleansed already, so there may be to-night, in pulpit or in pew, a member or officer of the Church who externally bears all the marks of an apostleship from Christ, while his heart is all uncleansed, or has forgotten the cleansing from former sins. Yes, Judas was not the *last* fallen apostle. We have seen the earnest and popular revival preacher, followed by thousands of eager listeners wherever he went, live to cry, 'They made me keeper of the vineyards, but mine own vineyard I have not kept.' The Word of Life may become a parrot-cry for us. Instead of being guides, Great-hearts to lead our people to heaven, we may be petrified into signposts, still telling the way, and the right way, yet stirring no step ourselves to flee from the wrath to come. Oh, have we not indeed reason to cry out from the depths of our hearts:

Studies and Addresses

Ah Lord ! with trembling I confess
A gracious soul may fall from grace ;
The salt may lose its seasoning power,
And never, never, find it more.

Lest that my fearful case should be,
Each moment knit my soul to Thee ;
And lead me to the mount above,
Through the low vale of humble love.

So, humbly declaring each of us as we look on our brothers who fall, ' There, but for the grace of God, go I,' let us this night meet once more at the river of the water of life, and pray our gracious Master to wash us wholly, feet and hands and head, that our feet may be swift and beautiful for Him, our hands ever busy in dispensing from His hand the bread of life, and our heads made ready to wear the crown which He has promised to them that have loved His appearing. Amen !

III

A COMMUNION ADDRESS¹

And the witness is this, that God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath the life ; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life.—I JOHN v. 11, 12.

WE meet to-night, my brethren, to celebrate together the rite which, with its companion sacrament of Baptism, has been for nearly nineteen centuries an outward and visible sign of the Christian faith. No one knows how soon after that last meal of Jesus with His disciples before He suffered the disciples met again to remember His dying in the simple rite which He ordained. But in the early Apostolic Age we find men reclaimed from the corruption of heathenism, and men who had been led upward out of the ancient faith of Israel, alike commemorating the sacrifice of Calvary in the same way in which we commemorate it to-night. The rite has been celebrated in very different ways. The sublime simplicity of its original institution, reflected faithfully in the simplicity of our service to-night, has been overlaid with gorgeous ceremonial and amazing superstition. But even this has not been able to obscure the central fact of the service, nor to destroy the vital truth which shines out from the profound parable in action which Jesus committed to His own before He went forth to die.

To-night we may cast aside the thought of the super-

¹ United Communion at Zion Chapel, Cambridge, January 15, 1902.

stitious doctrines proclaimed by the Pope in Rome or by his humble imitator the Ritualist priest in enlightened England, and go back at once to the teaching of the Master. It is, however, worth while to ask ourselves *why* this strange superstition so soon fastened on Christianity. It is not a little-startling to find that Transubstantiation is a doctrine found in essence among some of the least civilized heathen. We find these savages eating and drinking what represents the body and blood of a divinity ; and they do it in order that they may take into themselves the qualities which reside in their divinity. They even agree in the requirement that the sacramental meal shall be taken fasting, that no common food may mingle with that which means so much for them. I refer to this to-night, not in order to scoff at sacramentarian doctrines which, however perverted, have undeniably given spiritual blessing to thousands of truly pious souls. I speak of it because there is a deep truth here, which betrays itself by appearing so persistently in the superstitions of very different men. Nor can we hesitate to understand how this comes to pass, if we believe in the providential ordering of human history. Error is death, and must decay. Truth is a germ of life, and must live on, even though death folds it round and strives to choke its life. Through long ages of slow and painful progress God has been gradually leading the race upward, and it would seem that He chose the plan of the Atonement itself that it might be prepared for by the very superstitions of man. We take hold of our children's childish notions and try to lead them on step by step to the simple truths which those very notions help them sometimes to grasp ; and so the Divine Father has chosen to educate His children, teaching them truth gradually as

they were able to bear it, and out of their own follies evolving the apprehension of eternal verities which the angels desire to look into. So has He been pleased to teach us that there is indeed a Divine Man who has given His life for the life of the world ; and that except we eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, we have not life in ourselves.

What, then, is that divine truth towards which mankind has been led even by his superstitions, and which is taught us in all its purity and simplicity by the Master on whose words of life we depend ? No casual reader of the Gospels could ever fail to recognize the immense part which parable takes in the words of the great Teacher. Without parable He spake not to the multitudes, and in the inner circle of His own at their last meal together the disciples declared with surprise, ' Lo, now speakest Thou plainly, and speakest no proverb.' In parable He spoke to the weeping women as He went forth to Calvary. Everywhere we catch in His words the sense of the unity of God's creation, the links which bind together the natural and the spiritual worlds. No wonder, then, that when He would fix on His followers' minds in every age the very deepest and most vital of His truths, He should have given them acted parables to rehearse, that through their constant repetition His disciples might take into the depths of their souls the great facts which those parables conveyed. What is the great preventive of disease in the bodies of men ? Cleanliness. So when Jesus would have us learn what is to do away with sin, the disease of the soul, He bids us wash our bodies in the name of the Triune God. We call it the sacrament of Baptism ; and it is just a parable in action to remind us that as our bodies need cleansing from dirt, so our souls need

cleansing from sin, in the purifying Spirit of God. What are the great essentials of bodily life? Air and food. The teaching of each of these is given us in the New Testament. St. Paul implicitly gives the former in his perpetually recurring phrase 'in Christ': 'If any man is *in Christ*, he is a new creation'; or again, 'In Him we live, and move, and are.' But St. Paul had comparatively little of the gift of parable—compared, I mean, with his Master—and St. Paul does not directly explain his great phrase by saying that the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, is the atmosphere, the breath of life, for the human soul. Jesus takes up the parable underlying the other great necessary of human life, food and drink. Whenever we eat and drink, He tells us, we are to do it in remembrance of Him; and He further seems to suggest—though this is an inference which our friends the Quakers do not accept—that we should hold special meals at which this acted parable should be the only thought. It was, at any rate, the inference of Christ's earliest followers that the parable should be enacted not only at every Christian meal, but at special sacramental feasts, held expressly to commemorate the Saviour's dying love. Following their example, we are met together to-night to eat and drink, that we may remember that the surrendered life of our Redeemer is the necessary food and drink by which our souls live.

What is the benefit that we expect to receive from the service? Is there any? There are some who in the extreme reaction from the superstition which would make the Eucharist a mechanical conveyance of grace to all who eat, whether they 'discern the Body' or not, would assert that this is only one among many Christian means of grace, and that our profiting by this or any other depends simply

on the state of our minds at the time. To a large extent, no doubt, this is true. Nevertheless we must not forget that the Sacraments are the only Christian services in which Christ Himself showed us the way. A means of grace which He instituted is surely more likely to help us than one which owed its origin to men, even apostolic men. A parable which He set forth and Himself explained, and which He considered so rich in teaching that He bade us repeat it in action for our own instruction throughout all time till He should come again, must surely bear precious truth for us. And if He whose religion involved no other recurrent ritual of worship thought fit to institute this solitary rite, to stand in its magnificent simplicity in perpetual contrast with the elaborate ceremonial of other religions as well as of degenerate Christianity itself, ought we not to infer that there is a special promise of grace and illumination made to those who will study the Lord's own lesson in the Lord's own way?

Now when we turn to St. Paul's familiar directions as to the proper keeping of the Lord's Supper, we must at once be struck by the deep solemnity with which he invests it, and the awful responsibility which he declares to belong to him who partakes thoughtlessly: 'Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord. . . . For he that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgement unto himself, if he discern not the body.' Why? St. Paul gives us the reason: 'As often as ye eat this bread or drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come.' No true Christian could ever speak lightly or carelessly of the Son of Man; and most, perhaps, of those who only nominally own Him as their Lord would speak with reverent solemnity

of His death. And in this sacrament, says St. Paul, we are proclaiming, heralding, preaching to a faithless world the solemn wonder of the Atonement, the stupendous fact that the Incarnate God gave His life for men. How dare we proclaim such a fact with no ring of conviction in our voice, no seriousness in our demeanour, no sign that we regard the good news as anything vitally affecting ourselves? For, be it remembered, we cannot divest this sacrament of the thought of the *death* of our Deliverer. The parable of our spiritually feeding on Him might almost as well have been uttered without this suggestion. It assuredly was not; and, though it may well be impossible for us ever to fathom the depths of the divine counsel in which the death of the Saviour was necessary for our salvation, it is as clear as day that nothing but the surrender of His life could give us the life of which the text speaks, explain it how we may. Why was it that Jesus found it necessary to shock the Jews so profoundly in their most sensitive feelings, when He insisted on telling them that unless they ate His flesh and—horror upon horror to a Jew—drank His blood, they had no life in themselves? Might He not have told them that God must be to them more than their necessary food, or that they must drink in the Holy Spirit like water of life? No, for it is only a Divine *Man* who can feed the life of men, and He can only do it by laying down His life. Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us; and even as the Passover lamb was slain to be sacramentally eaten by faithful Jews, so was it with the Lamb of God, slain since the foundation of the world. So it is that Jesus uses a parable which holds the vital truth of religion, in spite of the horror it produced in the refined and devout minds of men who could only at first take it literally, not

yet able to understand that His words were parable. He meant them to realize that when He spoke of giving His life for the world it was not a mere figure of speech. With the same absolute conviction with which the savage devours his slain foe in order to take his foe's bravery into himself must the Christian take Christ into every fibre of his being, to penetrate with the divine might of His self-sacrifice every part of his nature and every energy of his life. Only when we have thus taken Christ into the very depths of our being, so that our voice throbs with His tones, and our very thoughts are penetrated with His quickening presence, can we be meet instruments in His hand for the salvation of the world He died to redeem.

How profoundly, my brethren, do we need more of this divine food at this time ! No thinking man can look around him without realizing how terrible a lack of seriousness and virility is apparent in our nation just now. On every side and in every class the love of pleasure has been growing to a frenzy, till it has provoked the censure of one whom the world may claim as emphatically one of themselves, a prophet of their own. But the fact that Mr. Kipling wants his countrymen to turn from their sport to war, which, in the true spirit of the primitive savage, he calls 'the lordliest life on earth,' does not diminish the force of his indictment against a frivolity for which ere long we may have to pay dear. What true remedy is there for our starved lives but a deeper and a fuller partaking of the Divine Food which has made our nation strong in days when she led the world in righteousness ? We have been feeding on stones, when the Bread of Life was freely offered to us ; and no wonder we are pinched and strengthless, feeble for great endeavour, and only men of might to mingle strong drink, to take

pleasure, or to slay. Oh for more and more of the spirit of the King of Love, the Prince of Peace, to master our national heart once more with a mighty enthusiasm of purity and self-sacrifice, that we may yet be spared the fate which falls on nations that forget God !

‘God gave us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.’ Yes, Jesus of Nazareth, who was God Only-begotten, did not come only to be our Teacher, or even our Example. You may take a poor drunkard and teach him till he both understands and sincerely desires to follow your teaching ; you may show him the blessings of sobriety by pointing to hundreds of men in his own class who are living happy and successful lives through total abstinence ; and he will go home filled with good resolutions, only to fall afresh as soon as the smell of liquor has come near him. What lacks he yet, after all the teaching and example ? Why, he needs a new *life*—a power within him which may put strength into his helpless resolution and enable him to do the thing he would. You find a poor skeleton of a man lying exhausted in the road, and you bid him depart in peace, and walk off yourself to show him where he will find shelter and comfort. And while you are thus mocking his misery, some one comes up and gives him a taste of food and a sip of water, and then some more, till he is gradually coaxed back into life and strength again. You and I are just like that. We know perfectly well what we ought to be and do, but we *cannot* follow our own ideal. There is another law in our members, warring against the law of our mind. Our resolutions fail us and our will capitulates at the first assault of temptation. What can be done for us ? We need a new *life*, and there is no life but in Christ. We must die. Our corrupt heart and helpless will can never be of any use to us ; we need to be

born anew. And then we need constant feeding, that the newborn life may grow in us. Never can we afford to go hungry. We are not fed on this Divine Food, the very life of the Son of God, in order that we may live pious lives of contemplation and go at last to a selfish paradise for ever. Christ gives us Himself in order that we may go in the strength of that meat into a crusade which can find places for no laggards and no weaklings. We are not to fight with shadows, nor with foes who only now and then appear. We have to keep awake, to wear perpetually the whole armour of God, to strike great thunderous blows against wickedness wherever it meets us, in the shop or in the school, among the crowded haunts of men or in the quiet of our home. It is to gain strength for such a conflict that our Captain calls us aside to-night, that we may have leisure to eat. It is from the daily, hourly feasting upon Him—figured in parable here—that we shall go out into the evil world to conquer it for Him. And when at last this fight is fought and the victory won, He will call His warriors to Himself, and in His Father's kingdom give them once more the cup to strengthen them for new and never-ending labour in a world where God's servants shall do Him service and His name shall be on their foreheads. Amen.

IV

ONE MAN WITH GOD¹

And when the servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, an host with horses and chariots was round about the city. And his servant said unto him, Alas, my master ! what shall we do ? And he answered, Fear not : for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man ; and he saw : and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.—2 KINGS vi. 15-17.

THE story of our text need not detain us long. In one of the desultory wars between Israel and Syria, which occupy so large a part of the national history in Elisha's time, the king of Syria learns from his servants that his rival enjoys the services of a prophet who can tell him the most secret counsels of the enemy. The king finds out where Elisha is, and sends an army of cavalry by night to surround the little town of Dothan. In the morning Elisha's young attendant, Gehazi's successor, who served him as he himself had served Elijah, went out early, and returned in terror. The town was in the hands of their merciless foe, surrounded on every side, and all escape cut off. But Elisha is not afraid, and he teaches his servant the grounds of his confidence. It was a supremely important lesson for him, if, as we may fairly assume, he was destined to be a prophet himself and a teacher of Israel. Elisha prays to Jehovah,

¹ Farewell sermon preached at The Leys School, Cambridge, July 20, 1902.

and He opens the young man's eyes. And, lo, the young man, lifting up his eyes to the mountains round the town, and eagerly asking from whence their help should come, beholds horses and chariots of fire keeping guard over God's servant. The angel of the Lord was encamping round the man who feared Him and delivering him. The form of the vision suggests at once the contrast in a well-known verse of a psalm, 'Some trust in chariots and some in horses'—rifles and horses are the modern substitute, marking the immense progress in civilization which more than two thousand years have brought. The safety of Israel, the psalmist knew, depended on something better than brute force. 'We will make mention of the name of Jehovah our God'—in other words, it is national character, rooted in national religion, upon which the permanence of a nation depends; and all history confirms this clear declaration of the Word of God.

But I must pass rapidly away from Elisha and from ancient Israel, if I am to say in these few minutes the things I most want to say on this occasion, when I speak to you on the old terms for the last time. The truth of this great passage extends very far beyond its original setting. Elisha's servant was not the last to be terrified by the sight of overwhelming force around him. In one way or another, it is an experience we all have at school, and still more in the world outside, if we have the faintest aspiration after being and doing good. The saddest feature of this world is the fact, only too evident, that wherever we go we must always be in a minority when we determine to obey no lord but God and our own conscience. I do not mean that we shall always have to live among bad men. It is rather that human imperfection is so universal that even men generally

good will turn against us at some point or other, different men at different points ; and therefore we may be sure of having all the bad men and not a few of the good ones against us when we make up our minds to do what we believe right *always*, without considering public opinion. The extent to which this is so will, of course, differ widely. There is a great difference between the conditions of early Christians under Nero, or Christian natives in India or China to-day, and those under which any of us are likely to find ourselves. Sometimes it almost seems as if it were made *too* easy for us to do right, as if our characters would be sturdier if we had to stand up against some persecution for conscience' sake. It all depends on the standard we set ourselves. If we only aim at satisfying the claims of public opinion, avoiding wrong deeds which would make other people talk, attending our chapel or church and giving to charitable and religious objects with freedom which never touches real self-sacrifice, we shall probably have no particular opposition to face, and it will never occur to us that we are in a minority. But as soon as we begin to make God's will our law, in small things and in great, and, without any parade, to rule our lives everywhere according to what He bids us do, we shall very soon find ourselves confronted with a mass of contempt or active opposition, or what is perhaps more discouraging still, the absolute indifference of a large majority who simply cannot imagine why we are so particular, why we cannot be satisfied with doing what other people do. And no one ever found it easy to bear either the hostility or the indifference of the majority around him. We are naturally inclined to think that we may be wrong when everybody else says so ; and even if we are quite sure of our ground, it is hard work

to face the forces opposing us. But here to us as we hesitate and fear comes a voice which tells us that we are in a majority after all. Who constitute that majority? Angels, says the story before us. But what are angels? We know little indeed about them, except that they are servants of God who have the perfect knowledge which tells them with certainty that the service is an everlasting joy. And we may extend this revelation by that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where, after telling of a great host of men and women who through faith did great things for God and man, the writer bids us remember that we are 'compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses,' who may encourage us to 'run with patience the race that is set before us.' I seem to see before me no small a body from that host of witnesses as I look back upon the past to-night. I cast my thoughts back over the long list of names representing boys and masters of this school whose schoolfellow or colleague, pupil or master, I have been in the twenty-seven years that have passed since we began our school history. And I can tell you that in this great company almost all whom the historian of the school would remember belong to that majority which you are to think of when you need countenance in the hard task of being good. We claim them for the great cloud of witnesses wherever they are now—militant here on earth, as most of them are, or serving God still in a world where there are no discouragements to His service. There are very few indeed of you here now who ever knew the founder of this school, whose spirit looks down upon our worship here as surely as his portrait looks upon this hall. I can speak of him without fear of contradiction from those who knew him when I say that the thought of him nerved many a boy to do the difficult

right in the face of opposition. Here was a man whom no one could despise, a man whose character even more than his learning won the universal love and admiration of all around—to be on *his* side, his boys thought, was not a thing to be ashamed of, however great the forces of wrong on the other side might be. And my great confidence for the future of this school, the prosperity of which is one of the objects nearest of all to my heart, lies in my knowledge that this kind of force is not dead or likely to die here. In your present head master, and in those who will continue to work with him, you know how to recognize men whose evident siding with the forces of good cannot fail to save you from ever being ashamed of what is good. Those who are with you when you try to do the right are clearly more, in everything that compels men's respect and honour, than they that are with your foes. But I need not pursue this further. You will find the argument applies almost equally when you look at the world outside. Paradox though it may seem, the minority of those who stand for God and righteousness is everywhere *more* than they who are with the enemy. All those who count for most, even with those who differ from them, the men who win the highest measure of affection and regard from others, the men to whom posterity pays the heaviest debt of gratitude—these are the men who bear God's name upon their foreheads, indelibly printed in the evidence of a true and noble and unselfish life. Everywhere let *them* keep you in countenance when you shrink from the danger or the unpopularity of doing what your conscience commands. Verily even on earth, even apart from the mighty host of angels and spirits of just men made perfect, you have around you a great cloud of witnesses cheering you on, a host of horses and chariots of fire

encompassing you, and they that are with you are more than they that are with them. For 'one man with God is always in a majority.'

And so the whole message of this passage concentrates itself in this one prayer, which I would utter for myself and for you with all my heart to-night: 'Lord, open the eyes of the young man, that he may see.' That prayer sums up in its few and simple words absolutely everything we have the right to expect and desire in life. It would be useless for us to pray that God would *send* His chariots and horses of fire to encompass us when we are in peril. They are there already. You remember that exquisite story of Jacob's dream. The homeless wanderer, driven out from his father's house by the consequences of his own sin, saw in his sleep the steps unto heaven and the angels of God ascending and descending upon them. 'Ascending and descending': the mere order of the words subtly conveys the fact that this angelic ministry did not begin with the dream—as though Jacob saw angels coming down out of heaven to help him and going back as their work was done. It was a lifting of the evil. Unseen by him, the angels of God were always going and returning on their errands of mercy and love. And He whose word is more than all the voices of Scripture has said to us, 'Ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.'

There is a probable saying of Christ, preserved upon that little sheet of papyrus the discovery of which made such a sensation five years ago, which seems to run thus: 'I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh was I seen of them; and I found all men drunken, and not one did I find thirsting among them. And My soul is pained for the sons of men,

for they are blind in heart, and see not ; poor, and know not their poverty.' How can we ever fathom the sorrow of the Son of Man, or even that of His followers who have learnt from Him the reality of the unseen world, when they look upon the multitudes that cannot catch one glimpse of a world which is so clear to all who have eyes to see ? ' Thou knowest not that thou art the wretched one and miserable and poor and blind and naked.' Yes, there are many of us all too like that self-satisfied church of Laodicea, and only the hand of Him who healed the man born blind can open our eyes that we may see. And what should we see if our eyes were opened ? Angelic hosts and chariots of fire ? Yes, a mighty protection ; and yet we know so little of the angels whom God sends to help us that we seem to long for something nearer to ourselves. Spirits of just men made perfect ? Yes, thank God ; and the knowledge that these victors who o'ercame still watch our way and cheer us on must be a strength to us in many a hard-fought field. But still we seem to want something more. We cannot *pray* to them—they would start in horror from us, and bid us address our prayers to the Lord alone. And though we are sure they know all about us, we have not yet the knowledge of them and of the ways in which God sends them to minister to us. The Book tells us something better still. The Old Testament reveals the Father in heaven standing at the top of Jacob's ladder ; the New shows us the Son of Man at its foot, here among men, His brethren. And to see *Him* is the great reason for which you and I need our eyes opened. I wonder if any of you have been to see that marvellous picture by Sir Noel Paton, which is, I think, still on view in rooms in the Market-place here ? There is the Man with the Muckrake of Bunyan's immortal story, eagerly scraping

together old papers, jewels, coins, straws, and rubbish of every kind. In the midst of the rubbish a snake is coiling, and from his mouth rise bubbles of iridescent beauty. With a broad, fatuous smile of infinite pathos on his face the old man is grasping at the bubbles; and as you look you see that the scene is a prison, and that the man with his loaded sack of treasures and the gay feather in his hat has a chain upon his leg. And by him stands the figure of the Saviour, laying one scarred hand upon his unheeding shoulder, and holding up in the other a crown of dazzling radiance; while in the background is the dim form of an angel weeping over a blind man who *will* not see. Oh, may I tell you in these last words that *you* are in that picture, that above each of us to-night stands that same patient and pitying Saviour, trying to turn our heedless eyes to that which is above, while we go on plying the muckrake and grasping at the glittering bubbles which rise from the jaws of the old serpent, the prince of this world? Lord, open our eyes that we may see!—before we leave behind us this school, whose lessons will all be vain if we have not learnt Christ, whose pleasures will be fraught with pain if we have not found our pleasure in Him. With that prayer I would close this farewell message. We go our several ways, and none can tell what the future has for us in store. But for us who go and for you who stay here there is but one secret of life, and that lies in the pierced hand of Him whose love will guide us till we meet, our labour done, in the radiance of the everlasting morn. Amen.

V

THE GREATER GIFTS ¹

Desire earnestly the greater gifts.—I COR. xii. 31.

ST. PAUL in this letter is writing to a church the character of which it is very hard for us to realize. In our day its like cannot be found except on the mission-field occasionally, where a corrupt and immoral heathen civilization has just begun to yield to the gospel. The city of Corinth was one of the foulest spots on earth, in an age when foulness was the rule and not the exception. Yet God had much people in that city, for the blood of Christ can wash the foulest clean; and where 'deep weariness and sated lust made human life a hell' there were hundreds who turned in their misery to the beauty of holiness. But even Christ's power does not turn men into angels all at once. The old temptations raged fiercely round the converts, and many of them looked back to the pleasures of their heathen days with a longing which soon induced the ingenious mind to prove that gross moral evil was for the Christian only a splendid opportunity for divine grace. And the subtle Greek mind soon found the gospel far too simple, and a superstructure of elaborate 'knowledge,' as they called it, was reared on the foundation which was only meant to support a solid building of good works. In particular the members of the Church went wild over the spiritual gifts, the miraculous

¹ Preached at Emmanuel Congregational Church during the University Extension Summer School, August 17, 1902.

powers by which the Spirit of God in the first ages of Christianity startled the world into attention—powers long since passed away, simply because the Church of Christ has got a hearing before the world and has greater works than these by which to prove her divine mission. A meeting of the Christian Church in Corinth must have been a strange sight. Let us try to imagine such a meeting, in the large upper room of some wealthy Christian's house. The members are sitting or standing about the room, or reclining on the couches by the tables. Suddenly you hear some one spring to his feet and pour out a torrent of ecstatic speech in a language you do not understand. It soon appears that he does not understand it either. But some one else rises and proceeds to interpret to the company, though you will find he cannot tell what the language is, nor speak a word of it himself. Meanwhile in the corner you see a poor slave from some distant land, who has dropped in from curiosity to this Christian meeting. The first speaker has no sooner begun than you see the slave bow his head, and hear the sound of deep convulsive sobs. He has recognized the language of his childhood, the Scythian, Armenian, or Keltic dialect in which his mother used to sing to him in those happy days of long ago, ere the cruelty of man dragged him away from home and friends to be the chattel, the drudge, or the plaything of masters who owned him body and soul. He hears in his own dear native tongue the wonderful works of God. No wonder that he cries out to the mighty God who has thus found His lost child, and gives himself to the Lord in whom there is neither Greek nor barbarian, bond nor free, but only man and brother, redeemed alike by Him who is the Brother of them all.

Meanwhile you look again, and see other strange sights

in this upper room. There are some helpless cripples, some blind and deaf, some wretched victims of terrible disease. An impulse comes over a member of the company, and he lays hands on the sick, anointing them with oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and they instantly rise to give glory to God. Another bursts forth with an address which arrests all attention. It seems inspired with an authority that is not earthly; it goes straight to the heart and conscience, and sinners fall beneath its power, calling out, 'What shall we do to be saved?' Another discourses in dreamy, rapt style on mysteries of Fate, Foreknowledge, Destiny, Free-will, the Origin of Evil, the nature and ministry of the angels. And so it goes on through all the company, every one contributing what we instinctively feel is not within the power of human mind. Perhaps at first we are inclined to envy the Corinthians these marvellous gifts. Our envy would not last long. The members are not waiting for one another. Two of them are shouting in unknown languages at the top of their voices together, while a third is giving out a hymn, and a fourth is expounding the superior Christian knowledge which enables the enlightened to encourage idol-worship or any other sin. And our wonder grows greater when we see them draw together for the love-feast with which the meeting ends. The rich scramble for the best places, and we see that, after the usual fashion of Greek banqueters, they have brought their own supplies. But they are not sharing them. There is the poor man elbowed into a corner, with nothing to eat, who goes away from the Lord's Supper—the family meal of Christian brethren in which the Lord Himself is supposed to be at the head of the table—the poor man goes away with his hunger still unsatisfied, while the rich is actually

in a state of intoxication before the brethren pass round the bread and the cup and recall together that their Master meant that feast to be a commemoration of His love, His death, till He should come again.

Perhaps this fancy picture—every hint for which is drawn from the Epistle itself, interpreted by the second chapter of the Acts—will help us to understand what St. Paul says about these spiritual charisms, gifts, which form the subject of our text. With that exquisite courtesy and gentleness which were characteristic of the first and most perfect of Christian gentlemen, he has tried to show these converts of his that they must respect each other's gifts, that God fulfils Himself in many ways. He tells them that men of very different powers are needed by God for His work, and he bids them not despise one another because they differ. And as to these showy spiritual gifts, they are quite right to desire them earnestly—only let them long chiefly for those which are most truly valuable, not for those which may bring most glory to themselves. He returns to explain his meaning in the fourteenth chapter. There he shows that though speaking with tongues is a great gift, for the possession of which he himself thanks God, yet it is comparatively useless—it needs the additional gift of interpretation before it is of any use to build up the Church as a whole. Prophecy, on the other hand, is God's own message to His people. They must earnestly desire before all things else the gift of prophecy. Yet Paul can show them a still more surpassing way. In exalting this, the way of love, he rises to the grandest heights that he ever touched. *Love* is the one gift that surpasses all the others, the gift which all may have, however little gifted, and without which no gift, however splendid, is anything

but a splendid fraud. For Love is the very nature of God, and none can be His son who is not penetrated with this glorious and abiding power.

Such is an outline of the apostle's argument which leads up to the text I am asking you to study this evening. But I need hardly say that I propose to transfer these things in a figure to ourselves and our own time. The conditions of St. Paul's day are as dead as the people to whom he wrote. What is Corinth to us or we to Corinth that we should weep for her? Corinth and her pleasure-loving people have passed away for ever; and the citadel rock that looks out upon the twin seas has survived almost the last stone that could recall the memory of the wonderful past. But though peoples and cities may vanish, the principles of the Book of God live on. For they are not of to-day nor yesterday, and we can never find in the inspired pages the people or the age so different from our own that we cannot apply their lessons to ourselves. So to us to-day comes the voice across the ages which bids us desire earnestly the greater gifts. 'Ask what I shall give thee' is for each of us the invitation of One who will give according as our ambitions are. If those ambitions rise to the very highest gifts that God can bestow, then those gifts will be bestowed. But if we are eager only for lower things, we may or may not receive them; but we shall, at any rate, receive nothing better. Is it not, then, of supreme importance for us to look to our ambitions and see that they are of a kind that will bring good and not evil?

There are some who would condemn ambition as an evil thing in itself. That is a grievous error. Ambition is the salt of life, without which all the savour of existence

vanishes and irremediable corruption sets in. But ambition is a good thing or an evil according as we obey or disobey the exhortation of my text. St. Paul three times speaks of ambition, and exclusively on its good side. In the fifteenth of Romans—you can recover the word in this and the other passages from the margin of the R.V.—he declares that he was ambitious to preach the gospel where Christ's name had never been heard. In the fifth of 2 Corinthians he says, 'We are ambitious to be well-pleasing unto' God. And in the fourth of 1 Thessalonians he urges his disciples that they should 'be ambitious to be quiet, and to do their own business, and to work with their hands.' We can understand the ambition of the pioneer missionary to break fresh ground, to go with his message where none has gone before him. We can realize, at least in theory, the grandeur of the second phrase I have quoted. But ambition aiming at quietness and obscurity, and contentment with daily drudgery! Verily here is a kingdom not of this world!

The apostle seems to us paradoxical in his application of the principle at which we are looking now. But shall we not find by experience that he is quite right? Search your own life's story, and do you not feel that the pleasure of most ordinary ambitions lies mainly in anticipation—'Man never is, but always to be blest'? Every peak we scale, after seeming to pierce the sky beyond all rivalry, turns out to be only a viewpoint from which we may look up at higher peaks beyond. So that we make a great mistake if we expect any degree of real satisfaction from achieving the healthy but yet ordinary ambitions we cherish to-day. Whosoever drinketh of *this* water shall thirst again.

'Desire earnestly the greater gifts.' What are these greater gifts? Whence can we draw the living water which

we may drink and never thirst—which shall be within us a well of water leaping up into everlasting life? Only one Hand can bestow this gift of God. I try to obey a voice which bids me call others to come with me to the well-side this morning. There sits the weary Traveller divine, who can banish weariness and unsatisfied desire with one draught of the water He gives without money and without price to all. It will perhaps seem to us that the water He gives is much like other water—that the ambitions of the Christ-filled man or woman work out in much the same ways as they would have done without His inspiration. Perhaps they do, but the motive is changed, and that is everything. The ambition to better ourselves, to win the highest prizes of which we are capable, *may* be supplanted by a self-renunciation which wins the loftiest heights by an absolute sacrifice of everything the world counts dear. But the renunciation of a Paul and the glory that follows are given to few indeed; and perhaps* to the great majority of His servants Christ gives command that they win what they can and may of the world's prizes in order to use them for Him. The transformation of motive may be illustrated by drawing a contrast between the principle of the survival of the fittest and its Christian application. As recognized in Nature, the principle is that of a ruthless, endless struggle, in which the failures are cast as rubbish to the void, or subserve another's gain. We rise on stepping-stones of other men's dead selves to higher things. Christ does not annul this law, but He gives us a glimpse into its meaning, a glimpse which may yet enable us to fathom something of the world's great mystery. He shows us that the fittest struggle to survive in order that they may lift the race with them. In material, intellectual, and spiritual progress

alike the law is that the few are blessed that they may be the channels of blessing to the many. The outstanding men of a race, the Shakespeares, Newtons, Cromwells, Wesleys, are from one point of view the highest products of evolution, who have come out at the top in the struggle for existence. More fitly should we call them heroes who have ascended on high and received gifts for men. We look at the nations, and wonder why after all these centuries there are so few peoples among whom justice and enlightenment and humanity are powerful. We look at our own great nation, and are distressed at the vice and selfishness which exalt themselves everywhere ; there seem so few who are actuated by the highest motives. Yes, but everywhere the city is being delivered for the sake of ten righteous men. The world is drawn upwards by the lead of the most advanced nations ; the nation is civilized and purified by the minority who are enthusiasts for righteousness. And so the fierce rivalry which makes the universe into one vast battlefield of remorselessness, exterminating strife becomes in God's hands an engine for the raising of the weak and helpless whom Nature sends to the wall. You are exhorted in God's name to be ambitious that you may serve the more, to perfect yourselves and raise yourselves that you may give your best to your brethren.

Once more, then, what are the 'greater gifts' to which St. Paul directs our ambition ? He mildly praises sundry charisms which were coveted mainly because of the importance they conferred on their possessors—fit types of many an ambition, innocent enough in itself, which you and I cherish to-day. And then he extols above them all the gift of prophecy—that is, of a tongue kindled by God to speak His words to men. Do not limit this gift to those

who speak in God's name publicly, nor, again, think that all of those who do this have necessarily the prophet's commission. The priest may be commissioned by human hands ; the prophet never. On His servants and His handmaids God puts His Spirit, and they prophesy. He bestows on them the tongue of him that is taught, that they may know how to sustain with words him that is weary. And when any one of us is moved to say a word of kindness and encouragement to some lonely little child, or to speak up boldly for the right in the face of sneers and laughter, there is in that speech the gift of prophecy. For *prophet* means only God's spokesman, and God has need of us all that He may put His Spirit upon us and give us words to speak for Him.

But prophecy, even in this wider sense, covers only a part of life ; and in its loftiest sense St. Paul tells us its function will come to an end. ' It shall be done away ' in a world where men shall not say to one another, ' Know the Lord,' for all shall know Him, from the least unto the greatest of them. The highest gift of all is to be *the* object of our earnest desire, for that is a gift which is the very nature of God, and must, therefore, be the nature of all who would be His children. Everything else may fail, will fail, but Love abides for ever.

Poetry and fiction have much to answer for in the ideas they have popularized concerning this supremest of the virtues. It is caricatured as a weak, pretty, sentimental sort of thing, to be brushed aside as soon as the stern business of life begins. Whereas in reality it is the one and only thing that can produce heroism. Men are accustomed to look for heroism in the battlefield. But in reality it cannot come there at all till Love and its sister Duty have kindled it. See the soldier stop amid the rain of bullets

to carry off his wounded comrade. You feel instinctively that a new spirit has entered the hideous scene. The mere engine of destruction has been transformed into a hero worthy of being ranked with those whose noble deeds no Victoria Cross invests with fame—the fireman plunging through smoke and flame, the lifeboatman amidst the boiling surf, the simple girl who in chill winter descended into a well after a little child and stood in water up to her neck for two awful hours to hold the child out of danger till help should come. These are Love's characteristic deeds, but there are higher still. For Love it is that sends men and women to face death on behalf of the souls of men. We see the flames crackling around the martyrs Latimer and Ridley; we hear the dull thud of the savages' clubs beating out the life of John Williams on the shore of Erromanga. Do not our hearts burn within us as we feel ourselves led to that familiar spot where incarnate Love for the prize of our poor ungrateful souls endured the cross and despised shame?

I cannot close without a word of special application drawn from my circumstances as I look back over more than twenty-seven years spent as a resident in Cambridge, and realize that I am not likely to stand in a Cambridge pulpit after to-night except as a passing visitor to the place I love so well. This town, more than any in England save the sister city on the Isis, is the abode of the 'gifted.' I have grown accustomed since my boyhood to watch with reverence in our streets men for whose words the thought of the civilized world would wait, and to remember vividly how their predecessors trod these same streets and college courts while exercising in this earthly life the gifts that have won them an immortality of fame. And a moment like this,

when retrospect of the joys and sorrows, the privileges, and the experiences of the past comes upon me with imperious power, I cannot help looking forward and wondering what will be the gifts that Cambridge will receive for men in future years. The great University Extension movement, in connexion with which we meet to-day, is a symptom of the higher sense of responsibility which our University has conceived within the past three decades. She has come to realize that the unique and varied gifts which came to her are not to be selfishly enjoyed, but are to be used for the advantage of the world. Has Cambridge desired earnestly the *best* gifts for men? She has broadened her basis of study to an extent far beyond what her elder sister has achieved. Is she prepared to deepen her hold upon her sons, and make them realize more profoundly the greatest needs of the world around her? Cambridge gave England the Puritans; Oxford gave the Wesleys. Is the twentieth century to look to the Universities in vain for stimulus, for enthusiasm, for renewal of life, such as can best be given through men who have superadded to lofty intellectual gifts the highest gift of all, a burning love for God and man? I think I shall be forgiven if I express to-night my prayer that from *this* great University may spring a movement worthy of her traditions of fervour and freedom—a movement forward out of the mists of mediaeval superstition, into which Oxford led so large a part of religious England during the nineteenth century, out into God's free sunshine, wherein the world may win clear vision of the heavenly City that God will one day set up among men. Our country waits for such a thrill of eager life. We have outlived the greatness of the 'Wonderful Century'; and without one man of highest genius to guide us in

literature, politics, or religion, we have nothing to do but to make what we can of mere talent, and wait for God's next great gift to our land. May we have grace to pray that Cambridge will never be content to desire earnestly learning and research alone, but will set herself with fervent enthusiasm to ask God for gifted men who may lift the world on wings of faith and hope and love towards the glory that shall be revealed in the Christ that is to be !

A last question for ourselves—for answer within our own hearts, forgetting for the moment all thoughts of the world outside. What if you and I desire earnestly the *lesser* gifts, and have no desire left for the greater? I only stay to recall the unmistakable experience of mankind, that these smaller things, excellent and even inspiring when in their proper place, lose all their own charm and value when they usurp the throne of our hearts. The good shows itself the enemy of the better, and in the act becomes wholly bad. To gain the whole world may be a very good thing—if we know how to use it when gained. But there is one price we are forbidden to pay. God deliver us from making the Great Renunciation and finding it out when too late, when we can only cry with the despairing sinner in that most heart-searching of poems :

Ah, my God,

What might I not have made of Thy fair world

Had I but loved Thy highest creature here?

It was my duty to have loved the highest ;

It surely was my profit had I known :

It would have been my pleasure had I seen.

We needs must love the highest when we see it.

Seek first God's kingdom and righteousness, and all these lower things shall be added unto you. Amen.

VI

INSTRUCTION FOR THE ENDS OF THE AGE¹

Now these things happened unto them by way of example ; and they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come.—I COR. X. II.

THE declaration of our text has become so familiar to us, through the continuous teaching of the Christian Church in all its ages, that we find it somewhat difficult to realize how essentially surprising it is. The apostle is writing to a community of Greeks, who joined with the quick intelligence of their race all the characteristics of a nation in its decline. The intelligence had degenerated into superficial cleverness, incapable of producing anything that would live. Morals, once kept up to a relatively high level by the teaching and example of some of the noblest of men, had sunk into a corruption which even that age felt to be shameful ; and in that fair city, the heart of Greece, the centre of the arteries of trade and busy life that throbbed over twin seas and twin tracts of land, was recognized the very metropolis of vice, the place where beyond all other places except Rome itself

Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

No wonder that He who came to call not the righteous but sinners had ' much people ' in that city of Corinth ! We

¹ Preached at Mansfield College, Oxford, February 1, 1903.

read in the sixth chapter of this letter the awful list of sins which constituted the past of some to whom St. Paul was writing, and we realize that the miracle which turned such men into saints was truly a 'greater work' than those marvels which the Incarnate Creator worked upon Nature when He walked as a man among men.

And now St Paul is writing to 'build up' these converts, to warn them of the dangers besetting them from that old evil nature which, though driven out by a mightier power, was still ever prone to return. From whence will he get his warnings of past experience by which to teach them? Perhaps we can best recognize the incongruity involved in the examples St. Paul found for them if we attempt a rough parallel. Suppose that a history had been written of the little State of Liberia, in Western Africa, by various leading men of that State, descendants of the freed slaves who eighty years ago returned to their ancestral continent from the great Western civilization which had held them in bondage for generations. Suppose this book were brought over to England by Liberian preachers and made the text-book out of which they brought forward solemn warnings whereby to rebuke the vices of our English society. Should we not say—among many other things which would not be relevant in the comparison—that the conditions were not sufficiently similar to make the example of use to us, that the experience of an alien and uneducated race, of men corrupted by generations of slavery, could never apply to a proud people rejoicing in the traditions of a thousand years of greatness, and dowered with the possession of a literature such as the world had never known? All this the Corinthians might well have said to St. Paul when he brought for their admonition examples drawn from

the history of early Israel, a slave-nation just set free after four centuries of bondage and as yet untouched by the refining influences which ultimately enabled the Jew to take a place second to none among the great peoples of mankind. The incongruity becomes more glaring the more we study the gulf which divides the Hebrew from the Greek—the Hebrew before the dawn of his greatness, and the Greek in the days when only a twilight remained on his horizon to remind him that the sun had rolled westward from him to nations yet unborn. But the incongruity does not end there. It would be hard to say which of these ancient peoples had less in common with the twentieth-century England—the children of Israel wandering through the desert of Sinai, or the Greeks reclaimed from paganism by the gospel fourteen centuries after the law was given. And yet this day there are practical lessons being drawn from Old Testament and New which inspire not only men and women trained in Christian modes of thought. These old words are found to lay hold of human souls never disposed to Christianity hitherto. They appeal to Europeans and to savages, to men separated by every variety of difference from those to whom they first were spoken. Interpretation and application may enhance the vividness of their appeal, but in the absence of the human teacher the words of the Book are found perfectly able to teach their own lesson. Taught without note or comment to the English child at school, they lay the foundation of noble living far more surely than the formulae of any Church or society could do. Placed by the agents of the Bible Society in the hands of the cultivated Brahmin or of the simple savage, they have many a time done their work without the intervention of any missionary. So has

experience through eighteen centuries verified the apostles' assertion, and shown that *somehow* the old-world history, of Corinth or of Sinai, was written for our admonition, and that the admonition goes home in the modern world wherever the teachable heart is open for its reception. As the apostle puts it in another place, 'The things that were written aforetime were all written for our learning, that through patience and comfort of the scriptures we might have our hope.'

We pass on to the words in which the apostle here describes those for whom the inspired record was providentially designed—'for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come.' This last word (*κατήντηκεν*) has recently revealed itself to us in a sense very much fuller than that of its colourless English equivalent. It has appeared repeatedly in inscriptions and papyri of contemporary Greek (and especially in documents from the rich collections which your own Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, with unparalleled industry and acuteness, have discovered and deciphered for us). We now see that it was used as a technical term in wills and similar documents, to signify the *descent* of property from a testator to his heir. The meaning here, then, is 'To whom the ends of the ages have descended as our inheritance'; and when Tennyson wrote 'We, the *heirs* of all the ages,' he was unconsciously borrowing from St. Paul. What, then, are the 'ends of the ages' which form the inheritance of the Christian Church? (It is possible that *τέλη* may keep up the property metaphor and mean 'taxes, tribute'; but perhaps it is enough to take it as 'accomplishments' or 'achievements.') We may paraphrase the whole verse thus: 'All these experiences successively befell ancient Israel as an example to

posterity ; and their inclusion in Scripture was providentially designed for our instruction, heirs as we are of all that the ages of human history have achieved.'

To this last fertile thought we will presently return, but let us pause awhile to ask *why* the history of Israel has proved so peculiarly helpful for the admonition of succeeding races. It is very easy to see one point wherein Israel differed enormously from other nations. National history meant to them incomparably more than it meant to any other people. The Greek and the Roman could take a pride in many events of the comparatively brief periods behind which their national annals faded away into legend ; but in neither case can we assert that the past exercised a really dominant influence upon the present or suggested powerful ambitions to mould the future. But Israel lived in the past ; and if we may estimate a whole nation by its highest representatives, we may recognize in Israel a unique power of reading the past so as to seize the meaning of the present. Look at the perpetual retrospects over national history which recur throughout the Bible. The prophet's appeal, from Deuteronomy down to the dying speech of Stephen, wins its cogency from the oft-repeated story of the dealings of God with His people. The poet of Ps. cv. tells in lyrical narrative what God had done for His Israel, and his successor in Ps. cvi. sadly recounts what Israel had done for his God. It is often asked what gave that little nation so unchallenged a place in the religious history of the world, and the answer is the same from whatever school it comes. Like many other nations, Israel possessed a line of priests ; but there as everywhere else the priests were absolutely incapable of contributing an idea to the store of religious truth—too eager to conserve

the past to realize at any time that an unprogressive faith is a faith which no longer lives. The secret of Israel's development was in the prophets; and of all the many-sided activities of that extraordinary race of men, none is more remarkable than their method of using the national history. The Israelites were not without annalists of the ordinary Oriental type—the type so familiar to us from the inscriptions of Assyrian or Persian kings. The 'Chronicles of the Kings of Israel' told of the wars of Ahab and the ivory palace that he built; and we may well believe extolled as they deserved the patriotism and statesmanship of a ruler who, but for his troublesome subject Elijah, would no doubt have made Israel into a great power! The prophet-historian told the story of that reign, and actually devoted one-sixth of his whole space to the single episode of Naboth, ignoring altogether that ivory palace and nearly all the successes in war. The anonymous prophets who compiled the Books of Samuel and Kings not merely threw aside the normal subjects of history, and told of 'not kings and lords, but nations—not thrones and crowns, but men.' That was much, but it was nothing to their special power of seeing God in history which marked them out among all the historians who have ever written. It is this gift which makes their work imperishable. There is much, very much, in the Old Testament which we can no longer recognize as God's revelation to *us*. It is the history of a progressive revelation; and over whole pages of it a divine hand has written large, 'Ye heard that it was said to them of old time . . . but *I* say unto you' what in many cases seems the very opposite of doctrines announced as truth by the olden seers. We do not doubt the Future Life because its very possibility was passionately denied by some of the

latest writers in the Old Testament canon ; and when we hear Ecclesiastes say, ' Be not righteous overmuch,' we are entirely free to declare that there is more inspiration in Charles Wesley's words :

Too much to Thee I cannot give,
Too much I cannot do for Thee.

But that does not mean that one jot or tittle of Old Testament revelation can lose its significance till heaven and earth pass away, or inspiration be denied to writers who often could only attain half-truths, or even miss the truth altogether. For even in the darkness these men held God's hand, which man can only find by inspiration from on high. And every scripture thus inspired by God is also profitable, and will be profitable to the end of time.

Was, then, the history of Israel alone thus rich in inspired teaching? Was there no God in all the earth but in Israel? Did no providence shape the ends of *other* ages, and can we nowhere else than in Scripture understand and justify the ways of God to men? In one sense, no. Israel prepared the way for One whom all sane men now confess to have stood alone among the sons of men. In its relation to Jesus Christ the Bible must always stand alone among the sacred literatures of the world. It is because *He* belongs to all mankind that the Book which tells of Him will bear translating into hundreds of languages and can adapt itself so wonderfully to the needs of all men. He is no mere Jewish Prophet—He is the Son of Man, and the ends of all the ages concentrate in Him, the treasures of all races and all times lie at His feet. And this very fact leads us to the conviction that if we only had the prophet's insight we could write universal history on the lines which make that

history so rich in warnings and examples for mankind. The time is past when we could believe that God selected a favoured nation and left the nations without witness of Himself. Israel's prerogative was, like all God's favours to men, only a call to special service. He who trained Israel to teach the world a universal religion trained Rome to teach the principles of law and government, trained Greece to teach the powers of thought and language. The ends of all those ages, the achievements of all those epochs of human history, form part of the inheritance which has descended to us, and it is all divine.

And what shall we say, then, of our own great history? Is that to be called 'profane history,' or are we to see throughout our fifteen-centuries' development the constant traces of the finger of God? The answer cannot remain for a moment doubtful. For what purpose is it that Kelt and Saxon and Norman and Dane have been brought together to contribute their different elements of strength to a united people—that development which through all the centuries has been protected by the wall of the sea from disturbing forces, so that in happy isolation a strong and resolute people might work out their own deliverance from kings and oligarchs and Churches which strove from time to time to arrest their growth and bind upon them the fetters in which other nations still are groaning? What Power has watched over the growth of a language so pre-eminently fitted, by its own inherent qualities, by its unlimited faculty for absorbing whatever it needs from other tongues, and by the supreme literature enshrined in it, to be the universal language of civilized mankind? And for what has there come to our race that adaptability which has taken them into every part of the world, and enabled

them to civilize and to rule where other races have entirely failed? Surely we cannot doubt the answer if we believe that God has His purposes for the redemption of mankind, and that He works by developing single peoples which may do their several parts towards the one great aim. The British peoples have been divinely trained to put a girdle round the globe, that they may further God's purposes for mankind. And if we make the great refusal, care more for our own empire than for God's kingdom, take with us our own vices instead of God's truth, we may be sure that the providence which has shaped us will cast us aside as it has cast aside other powers which had reached the limit of their efficiency for the good of the world.

Here, then, lies the supreme importance for ourselves, that we should seek the prophetic enlightenment, and, while composing in the spirit of the one-hundred-and-fifth psalm our thankful acknowledgement of what God has done for England, not shrink from adding the companion psalm of contrition for what England has failed to do for God. It may sometimes involve us in what the newspapers will call lack of patriotism. Be it so. The true patriot is he who believes so intensely in his country's mission that he is acutely sensitive to anything unworthy of a glorious past or of a future marked out by the hand of God. The present time is one in which this earnest self-examination is peculiarly necessary for us as a nation. We seem to have passed out of that glorious epoch which we call the Victorian Age, wherein men of genius led us in literature, science, politics, religion. The stars of the first magnitude have set or are westering fast, and only lesser lights rule our heavens, while as yet no beams of coming glory penetrate the cloud-banks on the eastern horizon. We cannot tell how long

we must wait before God gives us some genius again, some who will touch the great notes to which the heart of the nation has throbbed in days of yore. It may be that Oxford even now is training some future Wesley, or Cambridge some future Latimer, who may call the nation back from indifference and from idolatry to serve the pure truth which made her free. It may be that far from the homes of learning there will arise at the call of truth and duty the village Hampdens to lead their fellows in the march towards liberty—that to mute inglorious Miltons among the humblest in our land there may come, as came to the swineherd Cædmon in the story, at the dawn of our national literature, a voice from heaven saying, ‘Sing to Me.’ These things ‘lie on the knees of God,’ and what His future gifts will be it is not ours to say. But if we know not when our Cromwell will come, we may at least be Ironsides in waiting for him. We may eagerly study the providence in our country’s past, and strive to keep our national conscience tender, ‘lest we forget—lest we forget.’ We may take deeply to heart the indifference of the masses to all forms of religion, the distressing divisions of those who call themselves Christians through the growth of mediaeval superstition, the continued tyranny of the drink traffic, the appalling spread of the gambling curse, which brings into date once more the description given by the Roman historian of our barbaric German ancestors eighteen centuries ago. On these things and many more may we brood if we truly love our country; and while we muse the fire will burn, and we shall cry to God that He may make all His people prophets, that He may put His Spirit upon them.

Brethren, to none surely in the whole English-speaking world can the apostle’s words come home so vividly as to us

whose privilege it is to enter upon the heritage of the ancient Universities. You must feel here what I never ceased to feel at Cambridge through twenty-seven years, the spell of the past, the immense responsibility of sitting where the faces of Cromwell and Milton, Tennyson and Wordsworth, Newton and Darwin, looked down upon me from the ancient walls, and seemed to reproach those who were not eager, so far as in them lay, to take up the torch of knowledge and progress and hand it on undimmed to generations yet unborn. Here it is our special task to focus all the rays of light which come from the labours of the past in literature and thought, in language and antiquities, in history, science, and all the other subjects on which earnest workers have collected facts for genius to base discoveries upon.

Let us strive, my brethren, to realize, as part of our religious duty, and not merely as an intellectual exercise, these achievements of the ages which descend as a heritage to us. Have we received into our own souls the 'admonition' intended by the old-time 'examples' which we know so well? 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' Much has been given to us, and much is asked of us, by England, by the world, by God Himself. God forbid that we should 'fall'—should scan our inheritance and fail to see whose hand prepared it for us, and on what conditions it has been given. We have 'ages' in our own individual history, and the spirit of prophecy, of insight, of which we have been thinking this morning, can reveal to us what a providence has been working in the commonplace or stirring history of our lives; and we may write our own twin psalms to tell what God has done for us and what we have done for Him in return. And as we mournfully

recite to ourselves that strain of ingratitude and sin, does not the Divine Spirit lead us on to our one-hundred-and-sixteenth psalm, to the solemn consecration of our lives to His service, to the paying of our vows to the Lord here in the presence of all His people, militant and triumphant, surrounded by the cloud of witnesses who did God's work in this place, and ascended hence, some of them in the chariot of fire, to the God who 'made trial of them and found them worthy of Himself'? The voice that calls, the power that strengthens, is not only that of humanity in its highest and mightiest manifestations. God who in olden days spoke to our fathers by the prophets, in many different ways and always a fragment of truth at a time, has spoken to the heirs of the ages in His Son. He, the King of the Ages, the Only-begotten God, the Man in whom all the possibilities of mankind meet in their supremest form, calls us to-day to follow in His train, to renounce self that we may find a higher self, to tread His path of sacrifice and service in His strength and holding His pierced hand. And He tells us that if we can so accept and so use our heritage of the past as to make it fertile of blessing to the ages of the future, His finger shall touch it for us and transform it into an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away.

VII

THE SINGLE EYE¹

One thing I do.—PHIL. iii. 13.

My text, not long in the English, is shorter still in the original, where two words of two letters each make an epigram which has been the motto of every successful life in history. One thing—no limping between two opinions, no good-natured open-mindedness which leaves convictions to strenuous souls who do not understand how to say 'Yes' and 'No' in the same breath. One thing—no frittering away of life's energies on a dozen objects, all, perhaps, good in themselves, but all of them demanding the first place in the interest of those who would pursue them with success.

It is a motto which is brought home to us with special force by the great gathering of British men of science assembled here to review the progress of another year. For these few days your town breathes the peculiar atmosphere of thought and research—so familiar to one who has lived for the major part of his life under the shadow of a great University. You hear the fascinating story of results achieved which minister to the health or the convenience of mankind, or you meet great leaders of thought whose discoveries, all but unintelligible to the mass even of thinking men, will bear fruit of many strange forms among generations yet unborn. And, when the outsider seeks to

¹ Preached in Morningside Road Chapel, Southport, on Sunday morning, September 13, 1903, during the meeting of the British Association.

learn the secret of success in these wonderful fields of research, he must always receive the same answer from any of the devotees of knowledge, whether pursuing the mysteries of the physical sciences or toiling in the manifold realms of truth which are not represented here. 'One thing I do' is writ large over the door of knowledge wherever her prizes are sought. The days are past when wandering genius could carelessly stroll along the path of life and pick up some epoch-making discovery, as a child might appropriate a treasure buried beneath a wayside stone. Even though the discovery itself may burst upon the eye suddenly and unexpectedly, as on

Some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken,

it is almost invariably the earnest and patient seeker who finds; and long years of strenuous and self-denying labour are the only preparation for the fortunate accident, as men suppose it, by which fame is so speedily won. The accident may never come, and the patient researcher may toil on unobserved, building the foundations of other men's renown. But the true lover has his own exceeding great reward as he pursues the one object of his search, content to know, according to the noble words of the greatest of British scholars during the last generation, that 'a life devoted to Truth is a life of vanities abased and ambitions forsworn.'

But the word on which I am speaking receives a more particular meaning as the advance of knowledge goes on. Every science begins its history with a few wide and impressive generalizations built upon the limited number of facts then ascertained. Progress enlarges perpetually the store

of observations, which confirm or supersede the laws deduced at an earlier period ; and ultimately the mass of existing work becomes so large that the workers can no longer carry it all in mind, while the possibility of discovering fresh laws on a great scale seems barred to all save the mightiest of minds. The result is that the student has to say afresh, ' One thing I do '—content himself with a comparatively general knowledge of the whole subject, and bury himself in minute research within some special corner in which he may hope to add to the common store. He disclaims as too wide the name of biologist or historian, and confesses to expert knowledge of a few species of animals or plants, or the annals of a particular people at some special time. The growth of this specialization has been a most marked feature of recent years. Half a century ago many men used to take their degree at Cambridge in the Mathematical and Classical Triposes at once ; indeed, the great scholar I quoted just now—Dr. Hort—added Natural Sciences and Moral Sciences to these. Such a thing is unknown now, and a man would court suspicion as a pretender who ventured to claim credit as an expert in two entirely separate fields of learning. There is, indeed, one notable exception which proves the rule. The highly complicated science of literary criticism, when it happens to be engaged with the problem of the books of our Bible, is apparently regarded as a field in which the expert in biology—or in popular journalism—may, without forfeiting his reputation, display the grossest ignorance in public. It certainly would be a very good thing for the cause of Truth as well as for individual reputations if biological shoemakers like Professor Haeckel would stick to their own last, as they expect the theological shoemakers to do.

A curiously different application of the law of specialization presents itself when we turn from the realms of knowledge to those of common life. Time was when the skilled workman spent his life in the building up of some product of human invention which, in its several parts, made perpetual demands upon his watchfulness and intelligence. Now it has come to be realized in many manufactures that the inventor's design is carried out most perfectly when every part of the product is made separately by a workman who makes nothing else, so that each part becomes an almost exact duplicate of its fellow in the other finished article. Thus, in a great sewing-machine factory, a man has been seen at work who has spent twenty-five years doing nothing but punch eye-holes in needles. No doubt success is thereby achieved to an extent impossible under the other system, but at what cost? The man whose life is claimed for the doing of that one thing is turned into an unintelligent machine. A dullness and monotony unutterable settles down upon the lives of thousands who, under the old system, loved their work, and found constant satisfaction and pride in the intelligent achievement of the task they had to do. In this thing there lies a parable. 'One thing I do' may become the motto of a machine as well as the inspiration of a hero; and it is quite possible for men to become machines in many ways by following this law. The workman who spends his life in making duplicate parts of a machine; his employer, who toils early and late getting money, the enjoyable use of which he is far too busy to learn; even the faithful pursuer of Truth, when he fixes his eyes resolutely on some corner of knowledge, and loses, in his eager research among details, all conception of the great structure to which they contribute, the central

principle which makes all one,—these are alike examples of the perilous side of the specializing which, in its essence, produces every true success that this world ever sees.

How, then, does one and the same great principle of action produce such widely different results? We have seen that 'One thing I do' is the principle that produces success in so preponderant a proportion of cases that we may fairly set it down as a universal rule. Yes, but what is success when it is attained? The little child achieves success when he masters the art of spinning his top. John Couch Adams achieved success when he traced to its hiding-place among the stars the distant planet Neptune. Between these two successes there lies a whole world of varying achievements, great and small, not often renowned among men, according to the true scale of greatness. The success of the incarnate devil who sits on his throne at Constantinople, and lets loose his hordes of savages over Armenia and Macedonia; the success of selfish scoundrels who pile up their millions by ruthlessly 'cornering' the livelihood of the masses,—such successes may be as truly built on the maxim of our text as the success of the man who first brought to Europe the gospel message of God's love to men. The maxim is therefore neutral, unmoral, a mere formula which governs the accomplishment of any object, good or bad, which a man may set himself to gain. So everything turns on the object which is aimed at by this strenuous concentration of effort. Let us go back to the field that supplied our first illustration. The Universities of Germany are dominated by a system requiring original research as the condition for the doctor's degree. The candidate presents a dissertation in which he is expected to 'enlarge the bounds of learning.' But as those bounds grow wider and wider

it becomes harder and harder for any but commanding genius to find some unappropriated corner in which to dig and delve; and the result is very frequently that able men set themselves laboriously to do what neither they nor any one else think worth doing, merely because it has not been done before. Now this is very far from being all wasted labour. The writer, in his minute and concentrated research, has learnt the methods of research—the art of taking infinite pains, the passion for thoroughness, the instinct that can pierce the forest of accumulated facts to find the daylight of newly apprehended principle that begins to glimmer through them. Hence very largely comes that wonderful laboriousness, patience, and thoroughness which make the Germans the first investigators of the world. The dissertation may be burnt as soon as the doctor's degree is conferred, but its one great value will remain. The mischief of it begins to outweigh the good just when it is treated as an end and not a means, when that which painfully establishes what nobody need care to know is elevated to the rank of an achievement more important than that of him who merely learns great truths long known and brings them into the lives of his fellow men. Whatever the mind of man may discover, though the discoveries be brilliant beyond compare, though they minister healing, comfort, profit of all kinds to the world, the greatest result is always the uplifting of the human mind itself, which must ever be by far the greatest and most wonderful object that is revealed to its gaze. Greater than the limitless universe of inanimate worlds that rush through space in their mazy paths in mechanical obedience to a compelling law, mind transcends everything into which it peers—'Wonders are many, but there is nothing more wonderful than man.'

If this be so, must we not perforce look onward to the end to which all this is tending? Driven imperiously on to push forward into the unknown, sometimes with prizes of material treasure, just as often with nothing but the pride of accomplishment to satisfy its ever-renewed thirst, the mind of man hastens on its course ; and, when it has achieved its mightiest triumphs, it longs most fervently for something far wider and vaster than itself. Every advance in knowledge only reveals the vastness of the unknown ; all the added stores of treasure only bring a mightier desire for something which will embrace the whole and show the unity of principle which binds all these masses of facts together into one harmony. We have travelled by a devious path ; but have we not, after all, been brought to the same goal as is reached by the simplest evangelist who tells the message of Christianity? The crown of man's intellectual development is an infinite intellect ; and, as we talk coldly of mind and thought, and a mysterious world-mind behind them, our words insensibly grow warmer in tone ; the instinct which ever calls us upward and onward becomes the personal voice of an Eternal Love, and we cry with him of old, ' Thou, Lord, hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless until it rest in Thee.'

We come, then, to look at a question of supreme interest and importance for us all. What is the one thing we are to do, if we are to make the very most out of our life? We are all of us necessarily specializing in some way or other, under the operation of that beneficent law which ordains that if a man will not work, neither ought he to eat. And he who at the last is to present himself before the Perfect Intelligence as a workman needing not to be ashamed must see to it that, whatever his hands find to do,

he does with all his might. God will accept failures which a human master could only reject, when He knows that the man's utmost effort has been put into them. But it is worse than useless for any of us to present shoddy work to Him. 'One thing I do' must be our motto when we are engaged on the humblest of duties, that our great Task-master's eye may ever behold that whole-hearted endeavour which is the utmost that He demands from men. But all this belongs to the labour which is a means and not an end, and when we come to regard it or its fruits as an end in itself we have turned our backs on the one thing which it was our duty to do. It matters little whether we spend our energies on punching eye-holes, on making a fortune, or on investigating some corner of the realm of knowledge—we are only machines, machines of widely different capacity and excellence, but machines all the same. And man is too great to be a machine. Something within him is always telling him, until he stifles it into silence, that he was meant for immortality, for an endless sequence of ever-widening accomplishment and responsibility which will expand with the growth of powers created in the image of the Infinite God, and destined to have no limit short of the Creator's own perfection. Here is what St. Paul speaks of as the upward calling. Out of the depths of his heart one of the giants of human history is telling us of the divine voice which he hears, and which he would fain make us hear. There was a time when his own ambitions were strangely different, though pursued with the same single-minded energy. Then he was laid hold of by a hand from above which changed the whole direction of his life. Christ laid hold of him; and to lay hold of Christ, the prize now set before him, became his master-passion.

Yea, thro' life, death, thro' sorrow and thro' sinning
He shall suffice me, for He hath sufficed;
Christ is the end, for Christ was the beginning,
Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.

His life had never been aimless, but by comparison he had never before had a goal worthy of the name. He falls into his favourite parable as he tells how he fixed his unswerving gaze upon the end of the course, where the wreath of victory shone in fadeless beauty—how past triumphs were forgotten as the racer sped forward, with but one thought within him, centred utterly upon his one great aim. His words are very familiar. Few texts are more often the subject of a Christian sermon. But has not their very familiarity dulled their edge for vast numbers of men and women who bear the Christian name, and believe themselves to have been laid hold of by the same hand as that which arrested Saul of Tarsus on his errand of persecution? Oh that the Christian could catch from its first founders the concentration of purpose which once could turn the world upside down! If only we knew how to make the kingdom of Christ on earth the one end of life, and everything else a means to that end! The world of science and art and learning, the world of politics and society and industry, knows well enough our motto, 'One Thing.' How constantly it happens that 'the sons of this age are, for their own generation, shrewder than the sons of the light'? We have laid upon us the task of bringing in a golden age. It could, it would, be accomplished if only we were what we ought to be. If the one thing were but visible in us, if our lives did but reflect as they might the Life of lives, if we were strenuous and passionate in our zeal, pure and above reproach in all our dealings with

others, unselfish, winning, and wise in our daily life, how persuasive our example would be, how rapidly would men take knowledge of us that we had been with Jesus, how soon would the infection of such happiness and purity spread in a world of wandering men and blind ! It is not mere guesswork which prompts us to say this. Do not we ourselves know men and women whose lives are after this model—saints of God who have come down from the mount, and know not that the skin of their face still shines as they move among men ? Have we not seen how their beauty wins those amidst whom they live ? Thank God

Such lived not in the past alone,
But thread to-day the unheeding street ;
And stairs, to sin and famine known,
Sing with the welcome of their feet.

Oh, how is it that we who have seen such lives do not burn to be like them ? Within our reach is the power of being a benediction wherever we go, of leaving behind us a memory fragrant as that of heroes who ascended on high and obtained priceless gifts for men. And we are content to say of our business or our pleasure, ' One thing I do,' and to reserve half-heartedness and occasional service for that which is to last for ever !

Brethren, the upward calling sounds to us to-day with a voice clear as in the days when St. Paul followed it, and its watchword is still the same. If serving two masters has become more and more difficult in the spheres of ordinary life, it has not become easier when the highest ideals of man are concerned. One Lord, one faith—one ambition, one reward—everywhere that divine number rings in the ears of him who would please God, and so attain that for

which he came into the world. John Wesley's rule for his helpers, 'You have nothing to do but to save souls,' is not meant for any one class of Christians alone; it belongs to all. For there is not one method only of saving souls. The aim to win human lives by the example of a life that belongs entirely to Christ is one which must be supreme in every real Christian's heart, but it will work itself out in many ways. So it falls that the voice which bids every disciple say, 'One thing I do,' calls him to do many things, because he will do them all to the glory of God. The monastic idea is the very antithesis of the Christian. 'I pray not that Thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldst keep them from the evil one.' The Master bids His servants eagerly enter every field of human activity to claim it for Himself. They should be foremost in the pursuit of knowledge, for all Truth is of God, and more perfect understanding of creation can only bring men nearer to the Creator in the end. They must be foremost in every systematic work for the alleviation of human suffering—such as that which claims your help and sympathy this morning—for their Master ministered to the bodies as well as the souls of men. In Parliament, to see to the passing of good laws; in local government, to watch over everything which tends to the purification of life in town or country; in business, to promote justice and brotherliness between employers and employed; in all these things and many other spheres, in countless different ways, one thing they do, for every task they accomplish is done for the glory of God, which is the good of men.

Need I even state to a Christian congregation how such a subject must conclude? The upward calling is 'of God in Christ Jesus.' The call of God to us cannot be in reality

a voice from far, uttered by One who is beyond our reach, and knows nothing of our character and needs. But sin set such a barrier between us and God that the call of the Infinitely Holy must have fallen on unheeding ears. And so the Father condescends to our frailty, and His call comes embodied in One who, though Himself of God, was of like nature with ourselves. In Him, a Man far higher above St. Paul than even St. Paul was higher than ourselves, we see the Perfect Example for us to follow and adore. We see how one supreme purpose dominated that Life of lives, how He who rules the universe was content to be bound by 'I must' at every turn. We watch Him setting His face to go to Jerusalem, in full knowledge of what awaited Him there. And we see how the upward calling took Him down into the depths of the valley of humiliation and of the shadow of death, thence to be exalted beyond the utmost heights, and all that we might tread in His steps. Brethren, let us watch Him, let us hear Him, let us obey and follow! 'His knowledge is life, His bondmen are kings,' and they who do one thing, and that the faithful service of His Truth, shall find that 'the one remains,' while 'the many change and pass'—that in His favour is life, and in His right hand are pleasures for evermore.

VIII

THE STONE OF HELP¹

Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpah and Shen, and called the name of it The Stone of Help, saying, Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us.—I SAM. vii. 12.

WE must this morning dismiss with a word or two the vivid story in which our text is set. From the rude days of the Judges, when the founder of the order of prophets fought his solitary battle and stamped upon its memorial-stone the lesson of a deliverance which was manifestly given from heaven, we come to our own present to find a lesson which will appeal to ourselves. Our 'Stone of Help' to-day commemorates none of those scenes which barbarians still rejoice in, the scenes of blood and slaughter by which Israel had to win the opportunity of upward progress. But the ever-widening revelation which taught men to revere in heaven no 'God of battles' but a 'Prince of Peace' will warrant us abundantly if over 'victories more renowned' than those of war we triumph in the assurance that 'Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us.'

To most of those now present I need not explain why to me has fallen the privilege of voicing the thoughts of joy and thanksgiving which fill our hearts on this unique occasion in the history of the Leys School. But a few words are due from me to those who are strangers here, and

¹ Preached at the Leys School on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Moulton Memorial Chapel by the Duchess of Albany, June 20, 1905.

especially to the royal visitor, whose gracious presence makes this day a landmark in our annals that will not be forgotten. The stone which Her Royal Highness is about to lay this morning has its 'sermon' for us not only in the thought of future generations which in this house of God will lay foundations of life devoted to the service of God and of man. This is a memorial chapel, bearing the name of the first head master of this school; and I speak here not merely because I was one of the sixteen boys with whom he began his work just thirty years ago, because I spent under him the whole of my school life, and after the interval of Cambridge training returned to be one of his assistant masters. Others have these qualifications as well as I, and could discharge the duty better. I am here as the founder's son, and as such can endeavour to meet the responsibility which no personal fitness has put upon unequal shoulders. Those in this hall who knew Dr. Moulton will not, I am quite sure, accuse me of partiality, even when I estimate according to a son's impression the debt which the school and its individual boys during twenty-three years owed to him. He came here in 1875, and entered the appreciative circle of Cambridge with the reputation of a scholar who at thirty-five had sat with his peers in the Jerusalem Chamber, the youngest member of the New Testament Revision Company, and the author of a book which is still part of the equipment of biblical students in this country. Without experience of public schools, either as boy or man, he was charged to build up from the very beginning a public school which was to do for the boys of Methodist and other Free Church homes what famous institutions like Eton and Winchester had for centuries been doing for the sons of the Established Church. How

did he succeed? If you ask for his monument, look around. On the walls of this hall you will see the long lists of boys who have won honours for themselves and their school, mainly in the great University at our doors, which has welcomed every year a number of students trained here. But a more enduring monument may be found in the lives of hundreds who have gone forth from these walls into very varied fields, equipped with that which is better even than scholarship for doing their part in the uplifting of the world. The chapel which is to bear Dr. Moulton's name is the fitting symbol of what he strove to give his boys—an upright, courteous, strenuous manhood, inspired by the example of One who was man, but more than man.

'Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us.' Assuredly the stone which marks the retrospect of thirty years can have no other motto than these words, however great the debt that the school owes to the men who made it what it is. We cannot forget the part that has been played by those who gave their time and their money for the first founding of the school, who on the Governing Body watched its interests through years of severe financial anxiety into times of prosperity and success. As little would he whose special memory is honoured to-day allow us to pass by the long service of his colleagues on the teaching staff. It is a happy thing for the continued prosperity of The Leys that many of them are still serving here, including the head master who was so providentially raised up to continue the work which his predecessor's sudden death cut short seven years ago. But all those who have left their mark upon the place most deeply have had the same ideal before them, one which precludes all selfish aim. We see the fact of Jehovah's help present in the hold which a robust and

active Christian spirit has always exercised upon school life. Religion has never sounded a trumpet before her in this place ; nor has she made effort to make one proselyte even for the great Church in the interests of which the school was established. Religion here has meant health of soul and mind and body—vigour and energy in school games, sincere and honest work, the building up of Christian gentlemanliness, and all alike through the strength and after the example of Christ. The practical outcome of this ideal took shape nineteen years ago in the establishment of the Leysian Mission in one of the most densely populated districts of Central London, which throughout its history has not only been supported financially by the efforts of past and present Leys boys, but has been actually worked in the main by those who went out from this school. Many who did not feel themselves fitted for what is ordinarily understood as Christian work have realized a wider definition of it in the dreary slums, where a concert, a holiday outing, or a game of cricket may often be a true means of grace, not only to the people themselves, but to those who have given their leisure to brighten their brethren's lives. Among all our subjects for thanksgiving to-day, none can be greater, and certainly none dearer to the heart of him whose memory is honoured by this ceremonial, than the astonishing progress of our Mission, opened in the humble back street when the school was only eleven years old. We remember vividly the day last July when their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales visited the great building in City Road which we have been compelled to raise for the maintenance of our constantly growing work. The Victoria Hall, which the Princess graciously opened on that occasion, holds two thousand people, and there were

those who told us that it would always be too large for our needs. To-day we have the experience of a few months' work to tell when another member of our royal house favours with her presence the school with which that Mission is united by the closest of ties. The report is one of success beyond all expectation, for the great pile of buildings, one of the largest raised for such a purpose in any country, is already too small for the work that presses to be done. Every Sunday evening not only the Victoria Hall, but even the smaller hall below, are crowded out with eager hearers ; and twelve hundred men and as many children fill the place in the afternoon. Such is the outcome—to be content with one conspicuous and significant example—of the history of this youngest among English public schools. I am sure that its record will be gladly heard by the gracious lady who has long endeared herself to the people of this land by that profound and practical interest in the poor and suffering which

becomes

The thronèd monarch better than his crown.

And now my task is done. I have tried to express the feelings of thankfulness with which we who have watched from within the whole history of this school come to the event of to-day. I have bidden you see divine guidance in the gift of noble and beautiful lives, the memory of which will always be fragrant here. From the past I turn to the present, to acknowledge gratefully the characteristic interest in all good things which has brought our royal visitor into our midst to-day, fresh from stately pageant and ceremonial preluding long happiness, we trust, to those whom she holds dear. We who are assembled in

this hall represent a very large and varied portion of the nation's life ; and we claim that no company which Her Royal Highness has favoured with her presence in the past could outdo in loyalty and patriotism that which respectfully welcomes her now. And as in the name of the Past her gracious hand consecrates to the Future the new house of prayer, we join our thoughts with those of a mightier host that is linked in spirit with us. From every part of this United Kingdom, from all our colonies beyond the sea, from India and China, from the United States of America, and from far Japan, there echo in our ears the wishes and prayers of Old Leysians that every success and every blessing may follow the after-history of a school which is richly dowered with the loyal affection of those who learned precious lessons within her walls. May the house of God, which shall rise from the stone now to be laid in the holy Name, long be the birthplace of noble ambitions and of consecration to pure and unselfish life ; and may the divine help which has attended us hitherto remain through generations yet unborn the strength and inspiration of the future. Amen.

IX

THE LION LAMB¹

Behold, the Lion . . . hath overcome to open the book and the seven seals thereof.

And I saw . . . a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes.—REV. v. 5, 6.

THE Book of Destiny is in the hand of Him that sits on the throne. It is full of matter, for the writing has overflowed upon the back of the roll. But none can unroll and read it, for none may know those secrets who is not 'worthy' of a privilege which 'the Father hath set within His own authority.' No wonder the seer wept, as even the angels shrank back from the very sight of that Book! How eagerly do we long to hear its secrets, and never more than in these days of universal anxiety and stress! But one of the elders, a representative of the Church Triumphant, who has passed into the Perfect Knowledge, bids the seer stay his tears. The secrets of the future may not be unveiled to us, but they are in the Hand of One whom we can utterly trust, even if we cannot know. The Lion of the Tribe of Judah—the resistless power to which Judah the 'lion's whelp' is compared in the song of Jacob—'hath overcome.' Time was when He had laid aside His right. 'Of that day or hour none knoweth, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only.' To become real Man He was content to share with us a limitation

¹ From *The Bombay Guardian*, April 29, 1916.

bound up with our humanity. But victory 'crowned Him with glory and honour,' even beyond that which He shared with the Father before the world was. He hath overcome, and His victory gives Him the Book to open, which no angel was worthy even to look upon.

In breathless expectancy the seer looks and listens. 'From the prey' the Lion has 'gone up'; he listens for the roar. It is the Root of David—ancestor, and not merely descendant, of the mighty warrior King: one picture after another heightens the thought of Power.

And, lo! in the midst of the throne, where the Very God Himself is shrouded in unapproachable light, with the spirits of Creation around Him, and the double chorus of the old Israel and the new, that sing the New Song to the Redeemer, there stands a—Lamb!

How shall we read the paradox, the sublime daring of which takes our breath away? A lamb is the very symbol of weakness, 'led to the slaughter' because it could not resist if it tried. We go back to the lovely passage in Isaiah's Christmas prophecy. The Lion and the Bear are to be led by a little child. Right is Weakness, and Weakness is Might. Even so Corsica shall yet yield to Galilee. 'Hallelujah! the Lord God omnipotent—the Weakness of God that is stronger than men—reigneth.'

Nay, we forget to finish the verse. The Lamb has 'horns,' and horns in Old Testament imagery are perpetually a symbol of *strength*. And 'seven horns'—what can that mean but omnipotence? He has 'seven eyes'—omniscience as well! We have misread the symbolism of the 'Lamb.' He is 'a slaughtered Lamb'; it is simply and only the Sacrifice we are to see there. It is He who had the twelve legions of angels at His command in the

Garden and would not use them, He whose own unaided hand was mighty enough to crush a world in arms. Such was the Lamb who was led to the slaughter—because He would go !

We Protestants are in no small danger of overlooking the aspect of our Master which this great vision sets before us. For the Roman, 'Gentle Jesus, meek and mild,' is mostly replaced by Mary. An irresistible instinct forces upon us all the doctrine of the Motherhood of God. To call God 'Father' and forget that the Name is shorn of much more than half its riches if 'Mother' is not wrapped up in it, means the fixing of a great gulf between us and Him. The instinct of Roman piety satisfied this deepest human longing by making a goddess of the village girl who had the stupendous privilege of becoming the mother of the Son of God. We Protestants, clinging to the New Testament, which has no room for goddesses, and presents Mary as a saint (and a sinner !) like in nature to ourselves, have often chosen the alternative that meets our deeper need, and made Jesus feminine. And all the time there were no alternatives to be chosen from. Strength and Beauty met together, Mercy and Truth kissed each other, in the Person of the Christ, the 'ever-womanly' and the ever-manly joined eternally in one.

How Jesus showed all this in His earthly life I need not stay to show. Every Christian father and mother has graven on the inmost heart that womanly tenderness that took the children in His arms. Most of all have we rested in that tenderness when at His call we have laid our little ones to be in those arms for ever. The gentleness that won the trembling sinner, the graciousness of a presence that from childhood was in favour with men even as with

God—how well we know it all! And how we realize it here in a land where the divine at best is terrible, and is generally impure! But let us not forget the Lion because the Dove of God broods over the Gospel page. Listen to the thunders of His Woes upon hypocrisy. See that solitary Man stand and dare a whole nation in the cause of Truth and God, clearly seeing the Cross that every word brought nearer. Does it help us to understand the most appalling word in all Scripture—‘the Wrath of the Lamb’?

What, then, does it mean when Paul beseeches us ‘by the meekness and “sweet reasonableness” of Christ’? *Meek* is a word that has fallen on evil days, because it is the hardest of all words for human nature to understand. ‘Meekness’ seems to us simply the absence of spirit; a meek man has not the pluck to stand up for himself, but lets himself be trodden down because it is his nature to grovel. This is only the caricature that language has made of a conception too splendid for words to portray. New Testament ‘meekness’ is *strength under control*.

O it is excellent

To have a giant’s strength, but it is tyrannous

To use it as a giant.

He who rules his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city. And when the supreme Hero comes, He does not strive nor cry: He bears tenderly with the ignorant and erring, refuses to snap and cast away the poor cracked reed, or stamp out the wick that faintly burns. But it is because He is so strong that He is so gentle (see in the R.V. Margin the literal rendering of that splendid opening of Isa. xlii.). He is a rod of adamant; He is a fire quenchless as the sun. And that is why, when He took on Him our humanity,

'He counted not His equality with God a means of self-aggrandizement, but emptied Himself.'

And it is His voice which tells us that 'the meek,' those who are strong and selfless like Him, 'shall inherit the earth.' It is the Pierced Hand, not the Mailed Fist, that is going to win world-dominion. The earth is the Lord's, and therefore the *inheritance* of Christ the Son, and those whom He is not ashamed to call His brothers. Not the braggart and the bully, but the 'still strong man'; not the prince of this world, but the Lamb that was slain—with these is the future. Their victory is written in that Book with the Seven Seals, for Right is might and will prevail.

So it was in the great days when the Cross won its first victory. On one side stood an invincible Empire, Force enthroned beyond the range of even a German dream; on the other, a noble army of martyrs, men and women and children who could die for their faith, but would never kill. *They* won the long-drawn battle; and only those like them will win the Armageddon that is to bring the Kingdom wherein none shall hurt or destroy. For the joy of a world redeemed that was set before Him our Captain endured a cross and despised shame—His glory was in that shame! Who follows in His train? It means carrying the same cross day by day, doing the right 'in the scorn of consequence,' and pressing on without haste and without rest to the same goal. What though discouragements and bewilderments and defeats throng around us, though our adversary as a roaring lion goeth about seeking to devour? For He who is our help is a Lion, and He hath overcome.

X

THE THINGS THAT JESUS DID

And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.—JOHN xxi. 25.

OUR first impression in reading this text is that we have here an instance of what we should call Oriental exaggeration. Pulling up a mountain by the power of faith and planting it in the sea ; offering to take a speck of dust out of some one's eye when we have a baulk of timber in our own,—these and the like phrases were as natural to people in Palestine as the Aramaic dialect in which they were spoken ; but they seem strange to our taste. And so we may well think that a life of Jesus which, when written out column after column upon the long strips or tomes of papyrus, would occupy more of these rolls than would carpet the surface of the Roman world, is an impossible although picturesque conception not to be taken seriously. We recognize, of course, very soon that a really full Life of Jesus would be immeasurably longer than what we possess. Four little pamphlets, which could be very easily printed in a halfpenny newspaper, are all we have to tell us of that story. And of those Gospels, as we call them, the shortest and oldest is almost entirely absorbed by two others which copy, abridge, and add to them ; and when we use a harmony to see how many separate incidents and discourses or

sayings we possess, we see very soon how small a relation the total bears to the fullness of that Life. From morning to evening He was preaching and teaching and healing—sometimes 'without leisure so much as to eat,' sometimes so weary at the end of the day that He could only snatch necessary sleep by taking refuge in the fishermen's boat and crossing to the quiet eastern side of the Lake of Galilee. If only some twentieth-century disciple could have been there with our modern appliances, to turn a cinematograph on that sacred Figure and preserve a picture of every movement, to catch with a phonograph every syllable that fell from Him who spoke as no other man, what a record we should have to-day! Not one page of it would be superfluous or trivial—nothing but what would teach us as nothing else in the world could do. And yet if we had this, and it included the complete record of the thirty quiet years in which He through childhood, boyhood, early manhood, exhibited the ideal human life to the dull villagers of Nazareth, the books that could be written would not have carpeted the ground of that little town.

I want to ask to-night whether perhaps the profound mind from which we get this Fourth Gospel may not have contemplated something very much greater than that meaning which presents itself so obviously to us and makes us think of mere exaggeration.

It is a curious coincidence that the very next words in our New Testament contain something about 'things which Jesus did.' The book which we call 'Acts of the Apostles'—we do not know what its author called it, or whether he gave it a title at all—opens with some words of preface in which Luke the doctor tells his patron Theophilus, an official in the Civil Service and a Christian, what had been

the subject of the book to which he is now writing a sequel. It was to be the record 'of what Jesus *began* to do and to teach' up to the day of His ascension. The most natural explanation of that word *began* is that Luke means the sequel to tell of what Jesus went on to do and to teach *after* His last appearance to human eyes. Whether we take this explanation or an alternative, there can be little doubt that the men who wrote the New Testament would have regarded that book of Acts as nothing less than a second volume of the story of Jesus. The writer of this Gospel makes Jesus say that one who believed in Him would do the works that He was doing, and greater works still. Are we to infer that there never has been a man with faith during all these ages? For certainly we have never seen miracles like those recorded in this Gospel. We should be puzzled indeed by such words, did not the Master at once add the explanation: 'Greater works than these shall he do, because I am going to the Father.' He was not going *away*, after all. He went to the Father, 'in whom we live, and move, and have our being,' as Paul said, quoting an old Greek poet—to Him who is 'closer to us than breathing, nearer than hands and feet.' He was only going *away* from human weakness into divine power, from the limitations He submitted to in order to be a real Man, into the unlimited energies of almighty, all-knowing Love. No longer was He bound within what a man, even a perfect man, could do. He had stooped to be a little lower than the angels, less able to help mankind than they, and now He resumed His place high over them all; and His last word was that He would be with us all the days even unto the end of the world. I want to show to-night that He Himself, and not the best or wisest of His followers, has ever

since been doing greater things by far than even those He did as a Man among men.

There is one sense in which the continued life of Jesus on earth would be recognized even by those who count Him as nothing more than man. One recalls George Eliot's noble lines :

Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In lives made better for their presence !

We may in truth almost reverse Mark Antony's declaration :

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is often interrèd with their bones.

For God can make the wrath of man praise Him, just as He can clothe with Nature's green the ugly refuse-heaps that man's work leaves. But the good was never buried ; it is in its very nature as immortal as God Himself, and lives on in the world, even if unrecognized, for evermore.

But we cannot be content with regarding the immortal influence of Jesus as being merely of the same kind, though greater in degree, when set against that of Paul or Socrates or Buddha. Explain it how we may, there is something absolutely unique about ' the things that Jesus did ' all through the centuries which have passed since human eyes last saw His face. There have been countless deeds done in His name of which mankind is ashamed—deeds appallingly contrary to His whole spirit and teaching. We must cut out a great many pages from the record of the Christian Church before it will stand even as an imperfect and blundering copy of the Acts of Jesus ; and we must add many pages

that tell of deeds done in His spirit by men who never knew His name. But allowing for all these imperfections, what a marvellous story it is that tells of the magic influence of His life and death over people of every age and race and tongue! Lives that nothing else could touch have been dragged out of the vilest depths by the power of the 'old, old story.' Some of you heard not so long ago in this chapel the personal witness of that missionary hero George Brown, the narrative of the fiercest cannibals in the South Seas tamed in a few years by unarmed soldiers of the Cross. That choir of transformed savages singing 'God Save the Queen' in English on the island shore, to greet Sir William Macgregor on the occasion of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee—what explanation has any human science to give of such a scene? A few years ago in the pages of the *Clarion* newspaper I suggested that the Rationalist Press Association might try their wisdom in some island of cannibals—carry a cargo of rationalist literature and rationalist missionaries to expound its message. Those of the missionaries who were not detained by circumstances over which they had no control might come home and triumphantly plead the power of pure reason to civilize the lowest and wildest of savages. The challenge is not likely to be accepted. No motive less mighty than the love of Jesus has yet brought men to essay such a task; and no magic less mighty has ever accomplished the triumph that Fiji, New Guinea, and the New Hebrides can show to us to-day.

Nor is it only in distant places or times that such things have been done. We can see them any day around us. Harold Begbie's *Broken Earthenware* contains facts of the very same kind as the autobiography of John G. Paton. A few months ago I heard that marvellous old man General

Booth tell of some things he knew. Among his many wonders was one relating to a town only three miles from my home. There was a slum court in that town from which an unceasing flood of crime kept pouring, till the Watch Committee in despair decided to build police-barracks in the midst of it to keep these criminals under constant supervision. The committee met to examine the plans for the barracks. A member of the committee remarked that he had heard the Salvation Army was going to work in that court, and he suggested that they might wait to see the result. They did wait, and when they met again to discuss these barracks it was to arrange for the sale of their site. Jesus of Nazareth had been in that vile slum, and at His touch the savage had been changed. The other day in our own Central Hall, the head quarters of the Manchester Wesleyan Mission, a man was telling the story of his life. He had been a racing tout, as his father had been before him. He had never been in a Sunday school, and knew about religion as much as the veriest heathen. He was always drunk, and made his home an absolute hell. One day after a worse bout than usual, after tearing the wedding-ring from his wife's hand to pawn for drink, he had a bad fall and was taken to the infirmary. When he came out, as he slouched down the street, a voice seemed to come to him bidding him go to the Central Hall. He went that evening—it was the Saturday penny concert—and he heard the announcement of a lantern service on the Sunday night. He came to this. As he entered he saw on the screen the picture of Christ on the cross, and the minister only said the lines :

I suffered this for thee—

What hast thou done for Me ?

The man leapt up and rushed out ; it was enough. That week he knew the peace of the forgiven soul. The drunken gambler is now a sober, steady citizen, and a consistent member of the Christian Church ; the home that once he wrecked is a place of peace and love. Is there another name in human history that could have worked this miracle ? Surely it is one of the things that Jesus did, and it is *more* wonderful than the walking on the sea. In all ages men who have simply taken Christ at His word, complied with His conditions, and in this spirit taken up the task He has given them, have been able to do 'greater works than those' which He did on earth ; for it is He and not they that worked them.

There are, then, truly 'many other things that Jesus did ; and if they are written every one, I suppose that even the world itself will not hold the books that are being written.' This seems to be a more exact way of representing what the evangelist wrote ; and it suggests that the books are not a dream of what might be, but a vision of what would be written as time went on. And most assuredly those books have been written, and are being written now. They are not collected in any human library, nor can our eyes watch the pen that moves across the page. But in plain scientific fact and not in mere poetry it is true that a record is made and preserved of all that goes on in this great universe ; and it is hardly even a figure of speech which portrays the Recording Angel at his ceaseless work. And he is writing of all that takes place in your life and mine—all the secret thoughts that we ourselves have hardly detected as well as the words and deeds that are open for all our fellows to know. What he has written he has written, and nothing can recall or change one word. As grim old Omar Khayyám says :

The Moving Finger writes ; and, having writ,
Moves on : nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

And the great vision which ends this New Testament tells us of a day when the judgement will be set and the books will be opened, and we shall be judged before the great white throne out of the things that are written therein. What is it that will matter, supremely matter, for you and me on that day? That the complete story of our life tells of triumphs in business or in learning, in sport, in politics, in discovery—will this bring us lasting comfort when we come to read that record, as we are going hence whither we can carry nothing away? Nay, even in this life do we not feel that such successes as we win them are enjoyed far more in anticipation than in achievement? The sense of having said or done something kind, of having made a sacrifice that will bring somebody else lasting good, of having gripped another human life and brought it like some just-rescued drowning wretch safe to shore—these are the things which give us a deep delight which loses nothing with time. And these are the things which Jesus did—which Jesus *does* in you and me to-day. The roll on which the Recording Angel is writing down the tale of your life has now but few columns filled, even though in them there be many things you long to blot. The fair white page may yet be 'burdened with His name.' Your life's story may be a new volume of the Acts of Jesus, to take its place in that divine library which is growing year by year and filling the whole world. Your deeds and words may be His, and so be full of blessing and of joy, of all that brings no regrets and

no bitterness when life draws near to eventide. And with that load of blessing you may draw near in solemn joy to the throne to receive the welcome into new mysteries of glory wherein the deeds of Jesus will go on in your life for evermore.

